# NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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## EDITORIAL COMMENT

**American Municipal Association Notes**

In our next issue we will inaugurate a new department, to be known as *American Municipal Association Notes*. This department will appear quarterly, and will be edited by John G. Stutz, secretary of the American Municipal Association. The American Municipal Association is composed of the secretaries of the leading state leagues of municipalities of the United States and Canada. The *Notes* will be similar in content to the *Governmental Research Association Notes* and will record the activities of the various organized groups of municipal officials.

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**Citizen Support of Bond Issues**

At the election on November 6, the citizens of Cincinnati approved bond issues totalling $7,150,000. Popular approval of the bond issues is largely traceable to the careful and scientific method by which the improvement projects, and the amounts necessary to finance them, were studied by the joint bond committee, representing the various governmental units and the various civic organizations of Cincinnati and Hamilton County.

Cincinnati has a joint coördinating bond committee composed of representatives of the city, county, school board, and library, which constitute all the governmental units with power to issue bonds. This committee receives and considers all bond requests. Through subcommittees the total amount of bond to be issued is arrived at, and the total is proportioned among the requesting units. The joint bond committee, which has representatives also from the civic agencies of the city, then sponsors the bond issue campaign. The members of the committee are individuals of high standing in the community whose endorsement carries weight with the general public.

Colonel C. O. Sherrill, city manager, makes the following comment on the publicity methods in the recent campaign:

> In putting over our bond issue this year, a vast number of talks were made before civic clubs, welfare organizations, etc., at which time all bond issues were stressed, regardless of whether or not they were coming from the city or county. In addition, 200,000 folders were gotten out and distributed among various organizations of the city; another 100,000 were used by the department stores for slip-ins in all purchases made during the week prior to November 6. Sample ballots were also printed for distribution at the polls, and 1,000 large posters were placed in store windows throughout the city. All publicity work in this campaign was handled gratuitously.
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> I believe that one of the most potent factors in carrying these bond issues was the fact that the electorate realized that the bond issues which they were asked to approve had been worked out very carefully from the standpoint of their effect

upon taxes, and in addition were related so that there was a distinct coördination between all the bonding units in their request.

As reported in *Governmental Research Association Notes* in this issue, the Toledo Commission of Publicity and Efficiency has recommended that a joint bond committee, similar to Cincinnati's, be formed in Toledo. The Cincinnati plan will doubtless appeal likewise to other cities.

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**The County Manager**

This issue contains two very interesting articles on the county manager form of government. In the article entitled "A Wet Blanket on the County Manager Plan," Professor Kirk H. Porter of the State University of Iowa, a recognized authority on county government, expresses the opinion that county management is impractical. This opinion is based on the fact that the county is not a unified area of government as is the city; and that county functions are in the main carried out under the direction of the state government and subject to detailed state laws. Professor Porter believes that the hope for improvement in county administration lies in the direction of increased state control rather than in the centralization of control in the hands of a county manager.

In 1927, North Carolina passed three general laws designed to improve the administration of counties. One of these, "An Act to Provide Improved Methods of County Government," recognized the county manager plan, and authorized the board of county commissioners to appoint one of its own members as manager, or to employ an outsider. Several counties have conferred managerial powers upon the chairman of the board of commissioners; others have made the county auditor the manager. Davidson County, however, went outside its own official family, and secured a prominent and successful business man as the county manager.

Professor Paul W. Wager of the University of North Carolina, the author of *County Government and Administration in North Carolina*, refutes Professor Porter's arguments by describing the improvements in administration which have been brought about in one year by the manager in Davidson County. This article seems convincing enough proof that centralized control of county affairs tends towards economy and efficiency.

The Davidson County plan is perhaps the closest approach to county management which has been made in this country. The board of commissioners made the manager the county auditor, tax supervisor, purchasing agent, and road supervisor, and appointed his secretary as the county treasurer. Thus was centralized in his office the financial administration of the county. The manager, however, was given no control over health or welfare activities or the administration of justice. Nor would the manager in North Carolina counties have any authority to appoint or remove department heads in those counties where the administration is sufficiently complex to require departmental segregation. The North Carolina law, therefore, meritorious as it is, does not provide county management in the form advocated by the National Municipal League and as described by Richard S. Childs in *The County Manager Plan*.

We hope, however, that the results achieved through centralized administration in Davidson County, North Carolina, will help to shed a ray of light upon the "dark continent" of American government.

# WANTED: A MEASURING STICK FOR SCHOOL SYSTEMS

BY LUTHER GULICK

*Director, National Institute of Public Administration*

*Current methods of measuring school performance do not really measure.* :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

DURING recent years there has been much discussion of measuring education. The demand for measurements has been put forward by "efficiency experts," "surveyors," and "citizen groups," and the development of statistical methods has given great impetus to the project. It is probable also that the gradual growth of state aid for schools and the severe criticism to which the older methods of distribution of funds have been subjected have also served to advance the effort to develop measurement standards.

Recently a commissioner of education gave it as his opinion that the important element in this movement has been the large number of able graduate students who can find nothing better to do in connection with their theses! To an impartial observer, however, it appears rather as an inevitable manifestation in the educational field of the research temper of our times. It is inevitable that there should be in every field of human endeavor an effort to reduce experience and phenomena to measurable terms. In any case, it is a hopeful sign.

## REPORT OF NEW YORK LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE

The latest consideration of educational measurements appears in the 1928 report of the New York State Legislative Committee on Taxation and Retrenchment.[1] The opening paragraphs of the chapter dealing with educational measurements indicate the general point of view of the legislative committee:

> What are the differences between an excellent school system, a good school system, a poor school system, and an inadequate school system? How can a group of thoughtful citizens find out the comparative rating of schools through which their children are receiving their education? How may a legislative committee charged with the responsibility of examining certain phases of school organization, control, and management, decide what existing methods produce desirable results and what methods produce undesirable results? These questions have thrust themselves to the fore with your committee during its consideration of the problem of school control and management because it is obviously impossible to evaluate what we now have, or to make suggestions for the future unless we can in some reasonable manner determine on a fact basis the results of present methods.
>
> When we turn to school systems, and for that matter to other governmental activities, we leave measurements and science behind, and deal primarily in opinions, preconceptions, and prejudices. If we are to make intelligent advances in public education, it is evident that there must be developed definite objective standards which can be used in measuring education. We are spending millions of dollars annually experimenting with the school curriculum, with school equipment, with school buildings, with state aid, with methods of control, and most important of all, with irretrievable years in the lives of growing boys and girls, without having any definite scientific methods of measuring the successes or failures of our experiments. We are playing blind man's buff in the laboratory at the joint expense of the taxpayer and the next generation.

[1] *Fiscal Problems of City School Administration*, Legislative Document, 1928, No. 66.

Following this general approach the committee considers successively the measures for state school systems developed by Dr. Leonard P. Ayres, then of the Russell Sage Foundation; Professor Frank M. Phillips' suggested measurements; those used by the Virginia State Board of Education in rating the educational systems of that state; the method of ranking to determine educational efficiency used by Dr. Henry E. Schrammel; the indexes used by Dr. G. W. Frasier in measuring relative efficiency of city school systems; the elements relied upon by Professor J. R. McGaughy in his study of fiscal administration of city school systems; and the tentative index prepared for New York by C. A. Harrell.

### CRITICISM OF PREVAILING METHODS

The conclusions of the committee after its examination of these and other measurements are perhaps worthy of special note:

Our very brief examination of the various attempts which have been made to measure education leads us to state the following preliminary criticisms which are applicable to all of the measures which have come to our attention:

1. *Expenditures Do Not Constitute Results.* In a number of the indexes it is assumed that a city which is spending more money for schools, measured either by tax rates or by expenditure per child, is thereby giving a better education to its children than is the city with smaller expenditures. This is a palpable fallacy. Undoubtedly it costs more to give a first-class education than to give an inferior schooling. But it may not be concluded from the difference in cost alone that there is a difference in the result obtained. In our conferences with educators during recent years, we have found this attitude of mind altogether too prevalent. It must not be assumed that an increase of teachers' salaries will in and of itself produce better teaching; that an increase in the per pupil cost of education will produce a better education; that an increase in the amount spent for coal or school books will produce better heating or better books. The money spent in and of itself is not a proper test. It is possible to spend more for the same or for an inferior product.

2. *Equipment Is Not a Measure of Results.* In all of the plans of school measurement, it is apparently assumed that research has demonstrated a causal relationship between certain standards of equipment and certain accomplished results. For example, it is assumed that good education cannot be given in classrooms containing over forty pupils; that every school shall have at least a combined assembly and playroom; and that there shall be not less than one hundred square feet of outside playground per child. Though these equipment factors are undoubtedly of great importance, it must not be forgotten that the purpose of public education is not to build buildings and purchase equipment, but to educate, and that equipment cannot be used as a measurement until its causal relationship to education shall have been satisfactorily established.

3. *Indexes Must Measure All Significant Differences.* As we examine the indexes which have been developed thus far, it is our feeling that the measurements selected are too few and too simple to reflect the significant differences in the school systems. This becomes of very great importance when indirect measures, such as equipment, are made use of. Should not more attention be devoted to the economic and social conditions of a community?

Differences also of governmental and social tradition play an important part in governing the form of organization set up in a given section of the country. If it happens that this section of the country is also a section of high educational standards, should it be assumed that there is causal relation between these factors, as has been done in some of the studies thus far presented? We are not prepared to accept such results.

The oversimplicity of the indexes is again evident from the fact that they do not deal with certain of the newer services in education, except possibly through extremely indirect measurements such as holding power.

4. *The Weighting of Factors to Be Used in Any Index Must be Arrived at Scientifically.* In practically all of the indexes which we have examined, the comparative importance assigned to individual items has been arrived at either by accident or by rule of thumb. There are statistical methods for determining the comparative importance of variable items in the development of indexes. Further study of these same prob-

lems may make it possible to improve upon the methods which are now being used, but unquestionably the weighting cannot be left to chance or arbitrary opinion.

5. *The Only True Measure of Education is to Be Found in Individual and Community Development.* Education itself cannot be measured directly through expenditures, teachers' salaries, per pupil costs, holding power, examination marks, graduations, books read, or chair-warming hours. Education takes place in the life and character of the children and adults who come under its influence. The recognition of this basic fact has caused many prominent educators and laymen to conclude that any effort to measure education is futile becuse it involves a measurement of personality, knowledge, intelligence, and character, for which our scientific knowledge of humanity is not adequate. In this connection it is appropriate to point out, nevertheless, that we are continually making decisions with regard to educational systems and educational results, and continually making comparisons and urging that this or that method, curriculum, or equipment, produces better results. In other words, intelligent, sober, and experienced men are forced to make decisions in these fields, the validity of which depends upon the accuracy with which they approximate scientific conclusions. The movement for the development of measurements is merely an effort to arrange, classify, and test the materials of which judgments are made. It is possible that such a process, even though not fully scientific at first, may serve to increase the accuracy of judgments. There was a time when the family physician felt the patient's brow, looked at his tongue, and counted his pulse and respiration, in order to determine whether the patient "had a fever." Now he uses a thermometer. Similarly, the assessor of real estate for the purposes of taxation has developed standards for the measurement of land value and for the measurement of building value, by means of which the assessment of property has been immeasurably improved. Even if final scientific criteria cannot be established immediately, the effort to develop measurements and establish even temporary standards is a step in the right direction, because it serves to systematize the making of judgments.

# A WET BLANKET ON THE COUNTY MANAGER PLAN

BY KIRK H. PORTER
*The State University of Iowa*

*Is the manager plan desirable for counties? A noted authority on county government thinks it is not.* :: :: :: :: ::

Not long ago I was asked to suggest some references that might be suitable for use in preparing a debate on the merits of the county manager scheme of government. The prospective debaters complained that, although they could find a good deal of literature advocating this reform, nothing seemed to have been written that was hostile to it. My purpose here is to contribute a modest bit toward the filling of that gap.

As with most reform projects, the advocates of this one are likely to hold the field more or less alone, until such time as their plans actually threaten to succeed. But the county manager idea has not as yet progressed so far as to constitute a real challenge to the existing order.

## THE CITY IS A UNIFIED AREA OF GOVERNMENT

My lack of enthusiasm for the county manager grows out of a belief that county functions are not sufficiently interrelated to compose a single, unified task. On the other hand, the characteristic thing about municipalities, as contrasted with other minor areas of government, has always been

that they are created at the behest of those who are to compose the corporation; and the functions which the corporation is to exercise are always intended primarily for the direct benefit and convenience of those who compose the municipality. The city is thus intended to be a closely-knit political unit. However multitudinous the municipal activities may be, they do, in a very real sense, constitute a unified task. It is only necessary to consider for a moment the various familiar city functions in order to appreciate how deeply interrelated they are. Hence the city manager scheme—the very last word in concentration of administrative authority and unified control—no doubt lends itself very well to city government.

### THE COUNTY IS AN ARTIFICIAL UNIT OF GOVERNMENT

But the county is not today and never was a unified political household. The county is not created at the behest of those who are to live in it. It is an artificial area marked out without regard to population. Some of its purposes are local, some of them are state, and some do not lend themselves to ready classification. Indeed the courts have never been agreed as to whether certain county officers are really local officers or state officers. It has been customary to look upon the county as the principal stronghold of local self-government; but it has also served, from the very beginning, in a large measure as an area for the administration of state functions.

Local self-government is rapidly disappearing, for good or for ill. But even so, the county is no doubt destined to hold its place as a very important governmental area simply because the state is using it, ever more extensively, for its own purposes.

Granted that county government is beset with evils (for myself I believe they are greatly exaggerated), it were much wiser to direct reform along some lines that will harmonize with tendencies already well established. To set up a county manager would be an attempt to effect a sort of artificial unity in opposition to a very wholesome tendency now prevailing in another direction.

### STATE CONTROL RATHER THAN COUNTY MANAGEMENT

To be specific: the county sheriff and the county prosecutor are concerned with the enforcement of state law. The American desire for a measure of local self-government led to the popular election of these officers. Suppose we grant that they should no longer be popularly elected. I can see no point to making them accountable to a county manager instead of to a state department of justice. If reform is to come, the arguments in favor of making county prosecutors the subordinates of the state attorney-general, and the arguments in favor of setting up a state police force, perhaps to supplant the sheriff, are so very cogent as to leave no place at all for a county manager. The coroner, who is closely associated with these two, might well be abandoned altogether.

The school system is ever more rapidly being brought under the supervision of state authorities. I will not undertake to discuss the merits of this tendency; but I certainly would not be disposed to check it, in order to give a county manager some measure of control in this field.

### STATE SUPERVISION OF HIGHWAYS PREFERABLE

And so it is with highways. Control over highways has passed from townships, or other very small areas, to counties, and from counties to the

state itself with a rapidity that has almost equalled the development of the automobile. Petty local officers have seen their highways snatched away from them with a suddenness quite unprecedented in the realm of government reform. But who cares? We are getting good roads. And is anything to be gained by interposing a county manager somewhere between the existing county engineers and the state highway commissions under whose direction they now are working? The business of constructing and maintaining highways is one great, unified task. There is no place in it for a county manager, who, in his odd moments, would be managing a sheriff, a prosecutor, a treasurer, a clerk of court, and what not!

### STATE CONTROL OF OTHER FUNCTIONS

The case is scarcely different with respect to charities. Here there has been much waste and inefficiency. But the abominable old county poorhouses are being cleaned out. Each decade witnesses the erection of more state institutions for the better care of special types of indigent cases. The insane, the feeble-minded, the epileptic, the tubercular, the orphan, the deaf, dumb, and blind—each type is being salvaged from the poorhouse and cared for in special institutions, such as very few counties could ever hope to maintain. Shall we stop this procession in order to give our versatile manager a chance to try his hand at improving the old conglomerate poorhouse? Outdoor relief can well be handled through a trained worker employed by the county administrative board.

As to the clerical officers: surely if we cease to have the clerks of court upon our ballots—and probably we should—the patronage might as safely be bestowed upon the judge as upon a manager. After all, the judge is interested in the proper handling of his court records. Other clerical functions, including those of the recorder of deeds, might well be performed by an officer chosen by, and responsible to the administrative board.

The finance officers are usually a treasurer, a collector, and an assessor. The functions of the first two may well be combined. Before the days of state supervision of local accounts there was desperate need of improvement. But today, with state supervision making such headway as it is, we can almost afford to be complacent even about the popular election of treasurers. At any rate I see no reason for having them managed by a local officer. And as for the assessors, students of taxation everywhere look forward to the day when the function of assessment will be centralized in some state office.

Considerable variation is to be found among county administrative boards with respect to size and organization. Half a dozen states have the large representative boards of supervisors. Some of the southern states have their clumsy county courts, sitting as administrative boards. But far more than half the states already have the small boards of commissioners, exactly the type contemplated for the county manager scheme. This type of board is much to be desired, and states which do not have it should be encouraged to get it as soon as possible. Furthermore, there is comparatively little complaint with the functioning of boards of this type; and the mild reforms outlined here would no doubt effect remedies where evils do exist.

### COUNTY MANAGEMENT IS NOT THE REFORM NEEDED

Probably this brief article has the appearance of being an argument in

favor of state centralized administration. It is not necessarily that. The point I wish to make is that, if substantial reform is to come, it had better come along the lines indicated, rather than by means of setting up artificial machinery that does not harmonize with prevailing tendencies. Furthermore, the setting up of a manager scheme involves doing great violence to deep-rooted traditions of local self-government; and it would mean very sweeping and sudden changes. By pursuing the other process, improvements can be brought about gradually when and where they are needed most. Indeed, very substantial improvement has been brought about in most states, particularly with respect to local finances and the construction of highways. Let us bend our energies toward pressing similar reforms still further.

It is worthy of note that most of those who argue in favor of the county manager, and parade before us many examples of shockingly bad local government, are thinking primarily of the urban county. City-county consolidation is certainly an achievement greatly to be desired. And where this occurs the city's needs and interests virtually swallow up the county. And I have no word to say against the city manager, nor a city-county manager when consolidation has been effected. The city is a unified political household. The typical rural county is not, and it is hardly wise to treat it as if it were.

# IMPROVING COUNTY GOVERNMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA

BY PAUL W. WAGER
*University of North Carolina*

*Davidson County wipes out deficit, reduces tax rate, and simplifies government in first year under centralized administration.* :: :: ::

THE last few years have witnessed an increasing interest in county government on the part of business men, legislators, and students of government generally. With an ever increasing number of services to be performed, a larger and larger personnel, and a rapidly growing volume of expenditures, there has come a need and a demand for better methods of administration. The accounting practices and the administrative methods which characterize county government in most states are not only crude and antiquated but positively unsafe. They make sound financing difficult and democratic control well-nigh impossible.

In most of the southern states the county is the primary political unit; the township, if it appears at all, has only a shadowy existence. Hence the county becomes the unit for the administration of justice, for school administration, highway construction and maintenance, promotion of public health and public welfare, care of the poor, and other important functions. This is the case in North Carolina, and the annual budget in the average county is now well over $400,000.

For ten years certain leaders in North Carolina have been calling for improved county government, and last year their efforts were rewarded with

the passage of some excellent legislation.

A digest of this legislation appeared in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW in August, 1927.[1] The purpose of the present article is to indicate the gains which have been made as a result of these significant acts.

### BUDGETARY CONTROL

One of the major laws, known as the Fiscal Control Act, requires every county to operate on a budget basis. The first fiscal year under the new plan ended June 30, 1928, and most of the counties from which the writer has had reports kept expenditures within the budget appropriation, and several counties closed the year with substantial balances. This may not appear at all noteworthy until it is understood that operating deficits were almost the rule prior to the enactment of the Fiscal Control Act. In a few cases there were deficits this year in the general fund because of prolonged terms of court or other unusual items of expense; but such deficits must, under the law, be incorporated as a prior claim in the current year's budget. The County Government Advisory Commission has informed the writer that not less than seventy-five of the state's one hundred counties made a faithful effort to carry out the provisions of the Fiscal Control Act last year, and additional counties are falling in line this year. It is necessary to report, however, that a few counties have taken no cognizance of the law, or practically none. In most cases these are sparsely-settled counties which have long been dominated by a few self-seeking politicians. The latter naturally prefer the loose methods which have prevailed in the past and can easily convince a board of commissioners that the new requirements are complicated, impractical, and unnecessary.

### RESTRICTIONS ON BOND ISSUES

A second act, known as the County Finance Act, definitely limits the debt-incurring power of county boards. All floating indebtedness had to be funded prior to July 1, 1927, and since that date the only short-term borrowings that may be recognized as valid are notes in anticipation of revenue not in excess of 80 per cent of the uncollected taxes, and notes in anticipation of authorized bond issues. No bonds can be issued without popular approval and such as are issued must mature within a definite period, the specified period depending on the nature of the improvement to be made. Only serial bonds may be issued.

This act has been pretty generally enforced, for the reason that the banks and bonds houses will not loan money except where there has been full compliance with the law. As a result of this act the counties have been able to float bond issues at a much lower rate of interest than heretofore.

In the main, these two acts are recognized as instruments of good government and sound finance and are strongly defended by the press and by county officials. The county boards of commissioners are especially pleased with the laws. Scores of citizens and officials have extolled the virtues of these acts to the writer, and have expressed regret that they were not enacted ten years earlier.

On the other hand, there are a few counties—and they are backward, misgoverned counties—which will probably try to be exempted from the provisions of these acts at the next session of the general assembly. The rank and file of the citizens of these counties do not understand the measures well

[1] "North Carolina to Have Better County Government," by Paul W. Wager, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, August, 1927, pp. 519–526.

enough to offer resistance. Candidates for the legislature have told them that the new laws set up an elaborate and costly procedure for which there is no need in their county. An act which is designed to speed up tax collecting and hold the tax collector to a more rigid accounting has been hailed by one candidate "as persecution of the poor taxpayers." Nevertheless, in the main, the new fiscal measures have been well received and the benefits are already incalculable.

### THE WAY PAVED FOR COUNTY MANAGERS

The third major act, known as "An Act to Provide Improved Methods of County Government," recognizes the manager form of county government and provides an easy way of adopting it. In brief, the board of commissioners may employ a county manager, or they may give the managerial powers to one of their own number or to some other courthouse official. Furthermore, if there is a demand for a county manager on the part of the people of a county and the commissioners do not provide one, the citizens themselves may take the initiative in securing one. Ten per cent of the qualified voters may file a petition for a referendum on the issue; and if a majority of those voting favor having a manager, the county board of commissioners must appoint or employ one. The law gives the commissioners discretion as to what powers the manager shall possess and it does not prevent them from giving him very extensive powers.

Since the passage of this act, each of three or four counties has conferred managerial powers upon the chairman of its board of commissioners. A few counties had already made their chairman a full-time officer with enlarged powers before the passage of the act. A number of counties have had county auditors for several years, and in some instances these men have been given additional powers until they now approach the stature of county managers.

While there are several counties in North Carolina which have a full-time executive—who may or may not be called a manager—there is only one county which has a county manager in the fullest sense of the term. This is Davidson County, and it is to this county and its manager that the remainder of this article is devoted.

### A MANAGER IN DAVIDSON COUNTY

Davidson County is located near the center of the state in the Piedmont section. It is a well-balanced county with two thriving industrial towns and a well-developed, well-diversified agriculture. Davidson is one of the three greatest wheat-producing counties of the state, it is one of the leading counties in dairying, and it has a variety of other important crops. Each of its two major towns, Lexington and Thomasville, has extensive furniture factories, Thomasville boasting the largest chair factory in the world. There are also textile mills in each town. The main line of the Southern Railway traverses the county from north to south. In wealth and population it is slightly above the average county in the state, its taxable wealth being approximately forty million, and its population about forty thousand.

### GOVERNMENT UNDER THE OLD RÉGIME

Three years ago Davidson County was an average county, or worse, so far as its government was concerned. It had not fallen quite so deeply in debt as some other counties; but in other respects it was just as poorly managed and just as much "in the dark" as the rest. Its governing body—the board of commissioners—changed nearly every two years. Each board came into office ignorant of the financial condition of

the county and went out of office not much enlightened. There was no fixed policy or program. The commissioners met regularly on the first Monday of each month, and occasionally in special session. Before each meeting they secured a statement from the bank showing the county's cash balance, and with this as a guide proceeded to pass upon the day's grist of claims and requests. The register of deeds acted as clerk to the board and took down the minutes. After adjournment county affairs were allowed to drift along until the next meeting. The North Carolina county has been, and in most cases still is, a headless institution. Quite naturally it has also been aimless in its activities. Davidson County was no exception.

In North Carolina a new board of commissioners comes into office the first of December following election in November. Davidson County had a new board in December, 1926. It was a good board, and, among other things, it interested itself in the legislation being considered by the general assembly in the interest of better county government. After the legislature passed the act authorizing a board of county commissioners to employ a county manager, the Davidson board resolved to have a manager. The members of the board had been in office long enough to realize how handicapped they were without a full-time agent. They soon decided on the man whom they wanted as manager, but they were not sure they could get him. He was a man past fifty years of age who had made a success in two or three business undertakings and had, a few months before, accepted a position with a local bank.

### A CHARACTER SKETCH OF THE MANAGER

C. C. Hargrave had begun work when thirteen years of age. Even before that he had learned the rudiments of bookkeeping. His first job was to keep books for a local dealer in farm implements. He untangled the accounts of his employer so successfully that within a short time the McCormick Harvester Company asked him to visit other dealers, take inventory, and make settlements. While he was on one of these auditing visits, the dealer with whom he was working received an urgent appeal to send an expert mechanic to an isolated village to help set up a machine. The men who had been delegated to set up the machine were baffled. The dealer turned to young Hargrave and told him to go. The boy protested that he knew nothing about mechanics, but the older man paid no heed. After several hours of travel, the young bookkeeper reached the village to which he had been despatched, located the mechanics and their troublesome machine, and with many misgivings offered to help. Although unfamiliar with that kind of work, his keen eye soon detected the seat of the trouble, and in a few minutes the machine was running like a top. He calls it sheer luck, but the incident throws light on the qualities of the man. System, orderliness, and precision characterize all his work as county manager.

After working six years for the McCormick Harvester Company, Mr. Hargrave went on the road selling buggies. This he continued for eighteen years, or until the automobile threatened to relegate buggies to the museums. Then he settled in his native county and went into the lumber business. He was making a success of it when the aged president of a local cotton mill, desiring to be relieved of responsibility, persuaded Hargrave to take over the management of the mill. He remained with it until the property was bought by a New York concern.

It was then that Hargrave went into the bank, but after three months there

he was importuned to assume the duties of manager for Davidson County. The salary offered was $3,600 a year; but as he was in comfortable circumstances the salary was no particular inducement to him. Mr. Hargrave accepted the job because he is a born organizer and wished to try his hand in this new field. The improvement that has been made in the administration of Davidson County's affairs in the last eighteen months is a most encouraging story. Not all of the credit should be given the man who was selected as manager; some is due to the new Fiscal Control Act, some to the wisdom and energy of the county board, and some to the new system which substitutes centralization and coördination for decentralization and confusion.

### DEFICITS WIPED OUT

When the county commissioners engaged Mr. Hargrave they not only conferred upon him the powers of county manager, but also those of tax supervisor, county accountant, purchasing agent and road supervisor. They tried to make him treasurer also, but he refused to be both county accountant (auditor) and treasurer, so they made his stenographer treasurer.

Two-thirds of the counties in North Carolina have an elective treasurer, but a law enacted several years ago permits certain counties to abolish the office and confer the duties upon a bank or trust company if they so desire. Davidson County made this change. The bank which acted as county depository and fiscal agent received $60 a month and the use of the county funds as compensation for its work. The new treasurer receives $300 a year, in addition to her salary as stenographer, and the bank pays 4 per cent on daily balances. Last year it paid Davidson County $5,993.20 interest on daily balances and an additional $564.04 on a time deposit. It keeps detailed accounts for seven separate funds. The treasurer is bonded for $5,000 and the depository for $50,000. The county pays the premiums on the bonds.

Sinking funds are handled by a Charlotte bank—the Independence Guaranty Company, a subsidiary of the Independence Trust Company. The funds are invested in real estate mortgages which pay 6 per cent in advance, payable semi-annually. Both banks are bonded by surety companies.

When the county adopted the manager plan and at the same time budgetary control, there were outstanding notes, representing deficits in the general road fund and the general school fund, to the amount of $255,000. Of this, $150,000 was funded under the provisions of the County Finance Act and $105,000 was liquidated from the current revenues of the last fiscal year and from the receipts from delinquent taxes. Now there is not a single dollar of floating indebtedness. Not only did the county pay off over $100,000 of indebtedness in a single year, but it did so with a reduced tax rate. In 1926 the tax rate was $1.25 on a hundred dollars of valuation; in 1927, $1.20; and for 1928 it has been reduced to $1.17. The total levy for 1927 was about $550,000. This remarkable bit of financing was effected partly through better tax collecting and partly through economies of administration.

Before mentioning some of these economies, it might be well to point out that Davidson County's bonded indebtedness is only $550,000, and to offset this there is $71,000 in the sinking fund. Eleven special school districts have an additional debt of $157,500. In proportion to its assessed valuation —nearly $40,000,000—Davidson has about as little bonded indebtedness as any county in the state. Of this

$550,000 of county-wide bonded debt, $300,000 represents a bond issue for roads in 1916; $100,000 represents deficits funded in 1923; and $150,000 represents deficits funded in 1927.

### WORK OF BOARD SIMPLIFIED

Under the old régime it was common for notes, and even bonds, to mature with no provision having been made to pay them. New York banks holding these securities sometimes telephoned to Lexington to remind the county officials of county obligations overdue and unpaid. Now the money is always in New York several days in advance. The county's credit rating has been raised from C to A. Last summer Davidson County made short-term loans in New York at 4½ per cent.

Reference has been made to the confusion and uncertainty which characterized county affairs under the old régime. Now all is clarity and system. When the commissioners convene for their regular monthly meeting the county accountant (who is also manager) lays before them a statement showing the condition of each fund and of each account within the funds. In parallel columns the statement shows the budget appropriation, vouchers paid to date, unexpended balance, commitments, and unencumbered balance. In addition to the budget statement, the commissioners are provided with a statement showing the financial condition of each fund, that is, the actual cash balance in each fund.

Formerly the board spent a great deal of time auditing claims. Actually the performance was a mere gesture, for there was little that could be done after a bill had been incurred except to pay it. Now no purchase is made except upon the order of the purchasing agent; hence bills presented to the board are accompanied by the purchase orders, and both have already been verified. Their work becomes no more than a casual review of the month's expenditures. Instead of signing each bill, they now sign only an itemized statement of the month's total.

Other duties of the board have been equally simplified. The manager makes the investigations and executes the orders. He checks up on the work of the other officers. He is the liaison officer between the board and the people. The board is relieved of administrative duties and becomes, as it ought to be, a policy-determining body and a board of review. Quite frequently the board completes its work and adjourns before noon.

### ORDERLY ACCOUNTING

Mr. Hargrave is the county accountant, and as he himself admits he is quite "old-maidish" about his books. The writer never saw a neater set of county books, and they are always balanced to a penny. The following will illustrate the degree of accuracy upon which he insists: The tax collector is provided with a tax list or ledger containing the name, valuation, and taxes of each taxpayer. Each page is totaled both vertically and horizontally. Inasmuch as the total property valuations, multiplied by the rate, will give a slightly different figure from the sum of the individual computations, because of fractional cents, the correction is indicated on each page and carried forward cumulatively so as to reconcile the variation.

### CENTRALIZED PURCHASING

The county manager is purchasing agent for all except school supplies. In this capacity he has saved the county thousands of dollars in articles purchased and not purchased. It is

just as much a saving not to buy what is not needed as to buy cheaply what is needed. Bids are requested on all but the least expensive items. Only a few of the economies effected can be mentioned here. In 1926 the tax scrolls cost $181; last year, $39. In 1926 the tax abstracts (sheets on which the taxpayers list their taxables) cost $8.50 per thousand; last year, $4.25. Formerly an annual audit of the county books by a certified public accountant cost from $2,700 to $3,200; last year the cost was $1,100. The excellent condition of the books is the explanation of the last-mentioned saving. The county uses a large amount of gasoline in its motors, trucks, and road machinery. Until last year it paid tank-wagon prices; now it is paying two cents per gallon less.

Purchase orders are written in triplicate; the original goes to the vender; the duplicate is jacketed with the invoice and the voucher triplicate and filed alphabetically in the county accountant's office; the triplicates are filed numerically—with a new series each year. Vouchers are also written in triplicate. The originals, after being cancelled, are filed numerically by funds. They are grouped by months and with each month's packet there is a bank statement and reconciliation, together with a list of vouchers issued and still outstanding.

All collecting officers make deposit slips in quadruplicate. One goes to the bank which acts as county depository; one to the county accountant; one to the county superintendent of schools so that he can keep up with school revenues; and the fourth remains in the sheriff's (tax collector's) book.

Tax receipts are written in triplicate; the original goes to the taxpayer; the duplicate is put on a file and at the end of each day copied into the sheriff's day book and then turned over to the county accountant; the triplicate remains in the binder.

The bookkeeping procedure of Davidson County has been described, not with the thought that it is better than some other form of procedure, but simply to illustrate the relation between good government and good accounting. Not only does a good system of accounting enable the governing body to know the exact financial condition of the county at any time, but it makes any irregularity conspicuous. In fact, most public officials who go wrong do so to cover up a shortage which was not calculated. Many a good-intentioned official has been ruined as a result of deficient bookkeeping.

### EFFICIENCY IN TAX COLLECTION

In North Carolina county financing there is fully as great an opportunity to save on the receiving end as on the disbursing end. County government has been characterized by all sorts of dilatoriness and delinquency in the assessment and collection of taxes. An alert tax supervisor often discovers and gets on the books hundreds of thousands of dollars of unlisted taxables. Moreover, he gets tax valuations equalized. He speeds up tax collecting, he uncovers supplementary sources, and in various ways increases the revenues of a county. The higher the percentage of the levy which reaches the treasurer, the lower may be the rate. No small part of the county manager's work in Davidson County has been that done in the capacity of tax supervisor.

When Mr. Hargrave was chosen county manager he was also made road supervisor, replacing a road supervisor who was receiving $3,300 a year. As a further economy, the young woman who had been secretary to the former road supervisor became

secretary to Mr. Hargrave. In his work as road supervisor, the county manager is assisted by a practical and experienced road superintendent who has immediate oversight of the road forces.

Twenty-eight per cent of Davidson County's taxes are expended for road construction and maintenance so that the kind of administrative practices which prevail in this field is important.

### THE OUTLOOK IN NORTH CAROLINA

In conclusion, it is fair to point out that there are other well-governed counties in North Carolina. Guilford, Mecklenburg, Cleveland, New Hanover, Edgecombe, Wilson, and many others are being administered in a highly efficient manner. Each of the six mentioned by name has a full-time executive, who is either chairman of the board or county accountant. Davidson County was selected for treatment in this article for three reasons: first, it is an average county in population and wealth, being more rural than urban; second, its executive conforms most nearly in powers and manner of selection to the definition of a county manager; and third, it has not been well governed as long as some of the others and the improvement may be more justly attributed to the adoption of the county-manager system.

It would be encouraging if this article could close with the assertion that Davidson County has turned its back on the old method of handling public affairs, and will henceforth adhere to business rather than political standards. Unfortunately, the prospect is not so encouraging. Davidson is a two-party county. Its present board is strictly a partisan board; its manager is a party man. If the other party comes into power, the present manager will be retired.[1] In fact, he says he would not serve with the other party in power. If the opposition party wins the election, the new board may appoint a capable man as manager. It probably will. But the county managership is a position that ought not to be dependent on the vagaries of party politics.

The municipal offices of Lexington, the county-seat of Davidson, are filled on a non-partisan basis. The county chairman of one of the major political parties could not tell me offhand the party affiliations of the mayor and councilmen, yet he insisted in the next breath that county offices ought to be filled on a partisan basis. He admitted that a non-partisan government was probably more efficient, but he said: "How are we going to hold our national parties together without local organizations, and how can we maintain local organizations without some offices to dispense?" That is a very practical question, and, so long as it is raised, it will not be easy to secure the wholesale adoption of the county manager plan. It is true that city elections were just as partisan a few years ago as county elections are today, and that party politics have rapidly lost favor in the municipal field. It will not be so easy, however, to rescue county government from party politics, for the reasons that the county is more useful as a unit of party organization and that the courthouse is now the last stronghold of the politicians.

[1] Since this was written, the Republican Party has gained control in Davidson County, and Mr. Hargrave has resigned as County Manager.

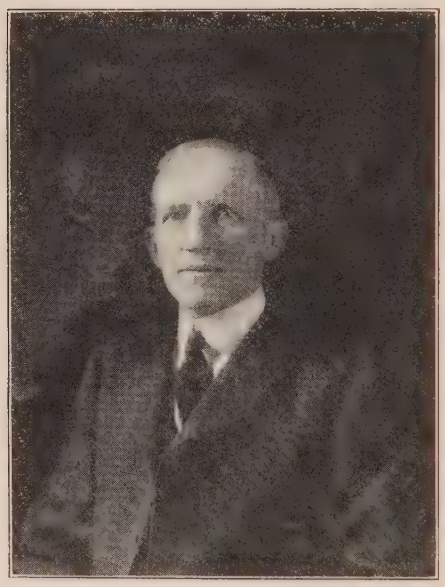
# OUR AMERICAN MAYORS

## XIV. JOHN C. LODGE OF DETROIT

BY W. P. LOVETT
*Detroit Citizens' League*

*After twenty-five years of public service, John C. Lodge was elected mayor in 1927 without making a single campaign speech or promise or granting a single newspaper interview. He typifies Detroit at its best.* :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

As Washington, Lincoln, and others, from various angles, symbolize America at its best, John C. Lodge, mayor of Detroit, without question and without flattery typifies his own city as well as any Detroiter who might be named. His election a year ago was regarded as the natural outcome of his long public career, an event as significant to his city as to himself.



*C. M. Hayes & Co.*
MAYOR JOHN C. LODGE

Born in Detroit some sixty years ago, next to the youngest in a family of eleven children, he has spent his entire life in "the City Dynamic." His father, a physician, came to Detroit in 1855. The son John was educated in the city schools, including high school, and spent two years at the Michigan Military Academy, Orchard Lake. His larger education has been of that continuous sort, in the school of active life, including newspaper work, business experience over many years, and unceasing public service (not job-holding) in city, county and state offices.

### HIS PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

In religion, politics, business associations, and social connections, Mayor Lodge always has shown a fine balance between classes and masses, between aristocracy and democracy. Belonging to the Presbyterian Church, he abhors intrusion of the religious issue in public affairs. Thousands of Catholics espoused his candidacy a year ago, though his chief opponent was known as a Catholic, and attempts were made to create prejudice on this familiar issue. Although his father, a life-long Republican, helped organize the party "under the oaks" at Jackson, Mich., yet, on his departure last summer for his annual vacation in Maine, Mayor Lodge left the city government largely in the hands of four men, including his private secretary, all of whom were Democrats.

He is a prominent member in at least three of the most exclusive clubs of Detroit. Except for two days of the week, Saturdays and Sundays, he rises early and leaves home at 7.30 for the office of the Dwight Lumber Company, of which for twenty years he has been vice-president and actual head. But it was his fondness for athletics, particularly baseball, which led to his becoming one of the founders and incorporators of the Detroit Athletic Club. If you glance at his fingers you will notice more than one abnormal joint, inherited from the days when his baseball activities were intensely practical—there are old-timers who affirm he might have been a Ty Cobb or a Babe Ruth.

When the author of this article came to Detroit in 1910, to be a resident press correspondent, the town certainly offered golden opportunities for almost any kind of "reform"—wave, spasm, hurricane, or whatnot. The school board was a political kindergarten in which corruption smelled to high heaven. A heavy percentage of the "very common" council were saloonkeepers; the saloon influence, for the most part law-defying, dominated the politics of the city, made a joke of the election system, and brought ridicule on "the Wayne delegation" at the state capital. A bi-partisan "vote-swappers' league" ruled the city, keeping up a pretense of party interest at election time, for publicity purposes, while the jobs and the "swag" were the real objectives of all serious political action.

### THE MINORITY LEADER IN COUNCIL

In that old council of hoary but unsavory memory, John Lodge was the respected, at times successful, leader of the decent minority. He had a few associates who, like himself, were good enough sports not to ask or expect the impossible. He knew "the boys" as they knew him, often by their first names; they were glad to have him belong. But naturally they did not include him in their inner councils or fundamental political programs. While he was acquiring experience in all phases of local government, knowledge of parliamentary law, floor strategy, etc., he also was earning a good name as a dependable but smiling leader of the kind of people who, as he then told the majority, would one day overturn their system and blast their organization into ruins.

That is exactly what history now records, beginning with the passage of the honest elections law in 1915 and the decision of Michigan as a state, in 1916, to adopt constitutional prohibition. The elections law was slipped through the legislature by a handful of "practical" reformers who never were reformers at all, but simply wanted to substitute decency for dishonor, adopted direct, businesslike methods, tackled one problem at a time and then stuck to it till it was solved by an aroused, informed public. Detroit never was noted, as a city, for its prohibition proclivities, but the Michigan dry campaign furnished an impetus, at the time erroneously assumed to be temporary, to "a new deal" in Detroit which has now become the permanent type of municipal program.

### A BROAD EXPERIENCE IN PUBLIC SERVICE

In that program, during the past decade, Mr. Lodge has been the chief political dependence of the progressive forces, at times out in front as a public leader, but often content to be a consultant whose wisdom was never discounted. His eight years of service in newspaper work, including a term as city editor of the *Free Press*, gave him a wide and "brass tacks" acquaintance

with the business and other leaders of the city. He served one term in the state legislature; in those days apparently "one term was quite enough," for him.

He was for five years chief clerk of the Wayne County Board of Auditors, in a position where he found out what was every essential or minor cog in the county machine. Therefore he has fitted perfectly for ten years in the position of chairman of the committee on ways and means of the Board of County Supervisors. It is this committee which is the hub of the county wheel as to actual and potential influence.

No man of accepted lineage and manifest refinement of tastes and habits could ever have travelled the political path so successfully without maintaining an inherent love for common humanity, a spirit of real democracy, and an ability to understand the commonest kinds of "just plain folks." Mr. Lodge's cosmopolitan acquaintance has been buttressed with a sincere appreciation of the human qualities in people. He hates sham and pretense, as he recognizes quality and character, no matter in what social station they may appear. Hence the "Lodge vote" for many years has come from all walks of life, from all parts of the city, humble as well as exalted.

### A REAL NON-PARTISAN

Mr. Lodge is one of several reasons why Detroit occupies a unique position among those so-called non-partisan cities in which local government is more or less free of national partisan influence. In Detroit non-partisanship is so real a thing that one must cogitate, possibly investigate, to find out who are the Democrats or the Republicans in the city council of nine, or in any other important office. Party affiliations in county, state and nation are accepted and respected, but the party leaders as such have ceased trying to upset the absolute non-partisan character of the city government. In city affairs a choice for public office, either appointive or elective, is practically never made with any partisan flavor or influence.

When the question was put to him, Mayor Lodge replied that "not in ten years" had he known of any real intrusion of partisanship in city affairs. Political leadership, therefore, becomes a matter of personalities, on merit, together with questions of purely municipal policy, as such. The lines are drawn, groups form and fight, but the city is allowed to settle its own questions as city questions. When Senator Borah arrived to deliver an address on behalf of Hoover, Mayor Lodge declined an official invitation to head the delegation which met him at the depot; the mayor said: "In a city where elections are non-partisan, I do not believe it is the proper thing for me to head a delegation to greet a Republican who comes here on a purely partisan political mission."

### THE DETROIT NON-PARTISAN ELECTIONS LAW

More fundamental to its government than non-partisanship is the Detroit election system: "foundation of the pyramid." In a sketch of Mayor Smith, Mr. Lodge's predecessor, the REVIEW said that Detroit was "as near a perfect municipal democracy as can be found anywhere in America." [1] Its election system is close to 100 per cent in giving an accurate registration of the will of the people. It has been so during the decade since the new elections law allowed the city to set up its present system. In procuring that law, including its local adoption, organization of the commission, and persistent policy

[1] NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April, 1926, p. 205.

of maintaining absolutely clean, honest, and accurate elections at every possible point, Mr. Lodge was one of the chief leaders, on many occasions the mainstay of the good government forces.

It required brains, nerve, political courage, and patient persistence to get the new idea established, to move the machinery of a peaceable revolution in method, and particularly to get the new system in working order and so firmly entrenched that it could not easily be sidetracked, overturned or otherwise destroyed. While the volunteer citizen agencies were doing their part, under tremendous difficulties, Councilman Lodge officially carried the ball in this political football game; his influence still looms on the horizon as the center of the strong line of defence against any who desire a return to the old order of controlled precincts and "rotten" elections. It is the spirit and practice of the new régime in Detroit to trust the people, who thus far have not disappointed their leaders in making, as a rule, the best possible decisions on behalf of their own best interests.

Since 1910, when he began an eight-year term of service in the old aldermanic council, Mr. Lodge personally and officially has symbolized and stood for the local government which is non-partisan, non-sectarian, and expressive of the will of an informed, fairly alert people. By the most democratic methods the city has procured for itself a modern school board of highest efficiency, a modern mayor-council charter which has met the strains of a ten-year period of astonishing municipal expansion, and in many other ways has set a pace for metropolitan advance.

### HELPED TO INSTALL NEW CHARTER

In the charter transition again Mr. Lodge was a leader, first as a consultant in drafting the charter itself, and, as president of the new council in 1919, in organizing the body and forming precedents as to procedure and method of the right sort. The new car was successfully "driven in." Having been council president, acting mayor, and ex-officio member of the election commission, performing services which ran parallel with his duties in the county government, Mr. Lodge, as mayor since last January, is now naturally the chief director of the governmental machinery which he helped to create and hence should know how to operate. His aggregate services as acting mayor ran well beyond a total which would have constituted a full two-year term in the office. He served ten years on the election commission and is now in his tenth year as chairman of the county ways and means committee.

### THE LODGE-SMITH MAYORALTY CONTEST

But what are his weaknesses? Surely no man could survive more than twenty-five years of strenuous political life, including many campaigns for important elective office, without showing real or apparent defects of character or judgment. The Lodge-Smith mayoralty contest of 1927 was fairly warm, and the result close. The Smith forces even had help from Chicago experts on what to do and how to do it; they failed to tar Mr. Lodge with the Ku Klux Klan or "bone-dry" stick. They said he was "too old," but that didn't work. The most and worst they could and did say was that his absolute refusal to make any personal campaign proved his lack of backbone, nerve, and fighting quality. "He is always too diplomatic," is the one criticism which at times finds a sympathetic hearing. "He has too many friends."

The answer a year ago was to point to the record of 1910-27 and ask

whether a man should be judged by his willingness to try his case in the newspapers or by actual achievement; by the number of times he has made first-page copy with sensational statements, threats, "jazzy" interviews, and campaign promises, or by the official data of the years; by his efforts to monopolize the stage with orations and half-baked opinions, or by his practice of quietly investigating all questions, amid the rah-rah and ballyhoo of popular controversy, and registering his official opinion or decision after the row is over and the reporters have forgotten the subject.

It is the Lodge technique to get results without needless trumpeting, issuing of mandates, or forcing of futile situations. In the political game he knows how to let others do the talking and get the credit for public bravery—or foolhardiness. "Any public man can always get on page one by saying what he is sorry for as soon as he reads it." The clever executive knows how to make moves of human chessmen in such a way that the men themselves often are blissfully ignorant of the part they are playing.

### HIS ADMINISTRATIVE METHODS

Those who know affirm that Mr. Lodge's greatest services have consisted of quietly diverting to the junk-pile enterprises or proposals that were plainly bad, but not generally known to be bad. The biggest "stories" are those never written. It is a political and personal asset at times to prevent a fight, keep folks sweet, and yet achieve the community benefit desired. As for personal courage, there is record of the incident when Councilman Lodge, in a committee session, chased a certain mayor around a table, told him to take off his glasses if he would save his eyes, and got the apology which was his due.

He was literally drafted for the office of mayor and was elected after a campaign in which he did not give out a single interview, statement, or opinion on any question, except to say publicly that he would not give out any statement whatever or make a single speech. A citizens' committee did the necessary work on nominating petitions, and made a moderate publicity campaign. But the candidate insisted that his public record was his only platform and that if enough people were satisfied with that, he would be elected. So today, under the strong-mayor charter, with full appointive powers, he is virtually a city manager for Detroit, except that he was chosen at large by the people, for a term of two years, and does not receive a "real" city manager's salary —the Detroit figure is $15,000 per annum.

As an executive, Mayor Lodge insists that departments shall function with full freedom and responsibility; he knows, and department heads know that he knows, what is going on. All officials and citizens regard the mayor highly in the area of municipal financing, construction plans and projects, questions of every sort affecting the tax rate, bond issues, etc. The administration is simply a smoothly-running piece of efficient organization, with a minimum of issues and controversies. The budget system is one of the best among American cities; the mayor and council are in charge of all major expenditures, and coöperation is the rule.

### NOT A PUBLICITY SEEKER

Some ticklish questions of internal operation remain to be solved, but the mayor believes in giving time its opportunity to develop the right answer to many a question. His full time as mayor is devoted to his job;

he dislikes banquets, post-prandial oratory, and mere ceremony for its own sake, practically never attending any functions but those of a necessary, official character.

His good will was illustrated by his course following the campaign of a year ago. He retained in office several department heads who had been appointed by his predecessor and opponent, chiefly because he believed the men capable of doing the work. There was no interruption to the orderly processes of the government, though one official of the Smith régime volunteered his resignation, knowing it would be requested if not turned in.

Will Mayor Lodge be reëlected for a second term? Some are asking the question. But they are not asking it of Mr. Lodge. They and he know it is too early to find the right answer. As in the past, it will depend on conditions as they develop. One thing is fairly certain: Mr. Lodge will continue his services to Detroit only under circumstances which leave him absolutely free of the suspicion that he wants any public office for its own sake.

# PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT MANAGEMENT IN THE AUSTRALIAN STATES

BY W. E. MOSHER

*Director, School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University*

*The civil service commissioners of the Australian states exercise a wide range of functions of employment management.* :: :: :: :: ::

A REVIEW of the annual reports of the public (civil) service commissioners of several Australian states shows a much broader conception of the functions of this official than is customary in other countries and that this conception has led to practices that are now pretty well standardized. The public service commissioner seems to be not alone responsible for the various ramifications of employment management, but also for the duties commonly performed by the efficiency division of a progressive corporation.

The composite picture that may be sketched on the basis of reports[1] from New Zealand, New South Wales, Tasmania, South Australia and Victoria indicates that up-to-date ideas of what we commonly call employment management are being put into effect in a broad and comprehensive manner. There are very few phases of this comparatively new branch of management that are not touched upon in one way or another in these reports. The range begins with the recruitment of juniors and ends with superannuation. It includes the customary functions of a civil service commission as well as such matters as the following: hours, tardiness, leaves, suggestions on work procedure, awards, grievances of all kinds, working conditions, further education and, in fact, anything that has to do with employment. Beyond this, relations between organization units,

[1] The following reports have been used in the preparation of this article: New Zealand, 1926; New South Wales, 1925–26, Tasmania, 1924; New South Wales, South Australia, 1924,'25,'26; Victoria, 1925.

methods of work and the like also occupy an important place.

The following discussion will deal first with what may be called employment functions and, secondly, with the activities that may be listed under the heading of administrative efficiency.

## I. EMPLOYMENT

In all cases, except that of New South Wales, the report is issued by the public service commissioner; in this single case the employment agency is a board consisting of three persons. Of these one is the head of the treasury, but this is evidently not an ex-officio appointment. Although references are found in several reports to an appeals board operating in connection with the classification of officials, it is only in South Australia that a classification and efficiency board is fully described and its functions enumerated. This consists of the public service commissioner as chairman and one representative of the government and one of the employees. The board takes over many functions that were previously performed by the commissioner alone as well as a number of new ones of a very important character. Appointment to the commissionership in South Australia is conditioned on at least ten years of continuous public service. The position is a permanent one and its incumbent is responsible directly to the governor, an appointee of the Crown and the council.

### CLASSIFICATION OF POSITIONS

In most of the states reclassification of positions on the basis of duties appears to have been recently carried through. So far as the reports show, the classification has been grouped under a few broad heads. For instance, in South Australia there are three services with a limited number of subdivisions. They are the professional, clerical and general. Such classification is applied uniformly to all departments, thus equalizing conditions and making possible transfers across departmental lines. Stress is laid upon the advantages of this latter procedure in some of the reports.

### SALARIES

In regard to salaries the commissioner is the initiating official. He makes comparisons with salaries paid in outside employment. He has an eye to the changing cost of living, as is evidenced by the tables of index figures found at the beginning of three of the reports. Whenever the turnover in a given class of positions seems to him to warrant, he recommends that salaries shall increase. This applies particularly to juniors and women. The importance of offering a scale that will attract promising juniors is emphasized in more than one case. Minimum wage rates and averages for the whole service, as well as average increases, are also given. A biennial review of all salaries is prescribed for the public service board and salary committees of New South Wales.

### HOURS OF WORK

The commissioner of Tasmania has standardized hours of attendance and the methods of handling tardiness. It is further specified that irregular employees shall be reported to him through the head of the department concerned. The question of the propriety of paying for overtime is also decided by the commissioner.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Sick leaves have been standardized in South Australia according to the following schedule: an accumulation up to sixteen weeks of leave of absence for ten years of continuous service and up to thirty-two weeks for those serving beyond ten years. As a kind of bonus, New Zealand grants twelve months, leave with full pay for forty years of service.

In this same state leave for recreation or study purposes is granted by the commissioner and not by the head of the employing department. Leave under the heading of education seems to be in the order of the day. The New Zealand commissioner lists eighteen men who are enjoying special leave in order to pursue their technical studies, over half of them being abroad.

FURTHER TRAINING

In one of the states, the commissioner grants permission to promising employees who wish to take courses at the university at certain hours of the day, because they cannot get the work desired during the evening. Incidentally, it might be noted that special pressure seems to be brought to bear on the public servants in Australia to stimulate them to increase their intellectual equipment. In line with this policy, intimate contacts are made with the university authorities. Examinations by the university are often accepted, for instance, in lieu of the official examination under the government authority.

The commissioner of one state is a regular member of the university board of commercial studies, on which matters of general education are dealt with.

The South Australian official expresses himself as follows: "Ever since the establishment of the public service department that fact (value of higher training) has been drilled into the junior members of the service in season and out of season, with the result that younger members in large numbers are engaged at night in some special form of study."

APPEALS

That the handling of appeals is a regular part of the commissioner's work is shown by the fact that almost all reports tell of the action taken in the year covered with reference to matters of discipline. The new amendment going into effect in 1925 in South Australia states that "a right of appeal to the public service exists in the case of an officer having a grievance relating to his employment or affected by any report or recommendation of the commissioner," and further that "if the appellant is not satisfied with the decision of the commissioner he may appeal to the classification and efficiency board."

It is interesting to note in this connection that the organization of public employees under the title of Council of the Public Service Association has a grievance committee in South Australia which carries on the preliminary work of handling complaints, and that the majority of complaints were settled by the committee and thus not brought to the attention of the commissioner.

SUGGESTIONS

The New Zealand commissioner lays much stress on the matter of suggestions. He states that he has given "every encouragement to suggestions likely to improve the organization or efficiency of the service," his practice being to make a special award to any officer bringing forward a suggestion of merit. As suggestions, even when not adopted, are looked upon as evidence of zeal, a record of such suggestions is

kept on the personal record card of the person making them.

ORGANIZATION OF EMPLOYEES

Several references have been made in the foregoing discussion to the official recognition given to the organization of the employees. This seems to be accepted as a matter of course. Their representatives are found not alone on the board of appeals, but also on the efficiency and classification board and the salary committees in one of the states.

## II. ADMINISTRATIVE EFFICIENCY

ECONOMY AND EFFICIENCY

All of the reports reviewed show that the public service commissioner is accepted as the proper authority for developing a more efficient administration of public affairs. This may involve reorganization or even elimination of departments, reduction of the number of employees, passing on the desirability of increasing the staff, installation of a central purchasing agency, introduction of new forms and office machinery or what not. Almost all of the results of the efficiency and economy movement in the United States have been considered or adopted in some of the states. A few illustrations will suffice to indicate the character of this policy.

ELIMINATION OF UNNECESSARY OFFICES

In the first place, real satisfaction seems to have resulted from the reduction in the number of officials. In a single year the Tasmanian commissioner reports that he had saved 75,000 pounds by the elimination of unnecessary offices. In several reports the boast is made that very few new appointments were made from without the service because of reorganization proceedings.

The South Australia commissioner reports that tens of thousands of pounds have been saved by the investigations of his inspectors with reference to the expansion of staff.

CENTRALIZED PURCHASING

In this same state the commissioner recommended the desirability of centralizing all purchasing under the treasury, and in the following year raised a question as to whether the treasury had not introduced an unduly elaborate system of forms for the control of purchases. In New South Wales the board urged that it was "essential that the treasury should be required to supervise actively and to improve the accounting methods and systems followed by the departments."

DEPARTMENTAL REORGANIZATION

The climax of this type of recommendation is reached when it is suggested that the heads of departments shall turn to the board when improved methods are available or reorganization is desirable so that the board may consider such proposals and take the requisite action.

That this policy of advice and control has not led to friction and jealousy is at least partially evidenced by references to the cordial coöperation that has been extended by the departmental heads. The following statement from the sixth annual report of the South Australian commissioner bears this out:

> These officers (of our staff) speak very highly indeed of the courtesy and able assistance which they have received from the heads of departments and their officers, who are keen to adopt

any better methods which can be introduced; and, in fact, when any investigation is being made, join forces with the officer detailed to carry out the inquiry, and the good results thus far obtained are principally due to the enthusiastic assistance and coöperation given by all concerned.

At any rate, the reports create the impression that the centering of all responsibility for improving administrative and personnel standards in the hands of the department of personnel, is accepted as a matter of course; and furthermore, that it has resulted most advantageously for the government in general.

## CONCLUSION

The student and observer of public employment management cannot fail to be impressed by the achievements of those in charge of the civil service in the Australian states. With one exception, we have here a single commissioner experienced in public administration who is given full authority under the chief executive for developing and improving all conditions affecting the employees, regardless of departmental lines. He is equipped with sufficient authority and presumably with such personal qualities that he can count on the coöperation of the other executives of the staff. He himself is a permanent part of the staff and can, therefore, hope for continuity of policy. He can introduce constructive policies that look toward the improvement of the quality of the working forces as well as increasing the satisfaction that the employees take in their work. The influence of political forces seems to be negligible. Even when it comes to the policy of handling the large number of war veterans he refuses to make concessions in their behalf that would run counter to the interests of the service. In a word, the public service commissioner appears to be a qualified professional executive who takes rank with the other members of the executive staff, and whose task it is to make public employment efficient, worthwhile and attractive.

With regard to the centralizing of responsibility for improving administrative efficiency in the personnel department, one can only observe that such centralization is all but unique, both in private and public management. This involves the appointment to the commission's staff of so-called "inspectors" who are acquainted with the workings of the several departments and who have the requisite training for this type of critical and constructive work. There are obvious advantages in this combination because the investigation of offices and officials—the primary task of the personnel department—requires an intimate knowledge of the workings and the responsibilities of the various units of government and their relations to one another. There seems to be no inherent reason why this knowledge should not be capitalized in the direction of improving the general efficiency of these units, providing, of course, that some members of the staff, as well as its head, are qualified to handle such work. If we take these reports at their face value, and there seems to be no reason why we should not, this combination of functions is working out most satisfactorily in the Australian states. From the point of view of public administration the policy outlined here is both suggestive and thought-provoking.

# APPRAISING MUNICIPAL REPORTS

BY C. E. RIDLEY

*National Institute of Public Administration*

*An attempt to place upon a comparable basis the municipal reports reviewed in these columns during the past year.* :: :: ::

In an article which appeared in the March, 1928, issue of the Review, the writer suggested twenty criteria to be used as a basis for comparing and rating municipal reports.[1] The article further attempted to apply the criteria to the twelve reports which previously had been reviewed in these columns. This article will restate those criteria and present a table showing their application to the seventeen municipal reports which have been reviewed since March, 1928. An attempt will also be made to draw a few conclusions from the comparisons

### REPORTS REVIEWED

During the past six months the seventeen cities whose municipal reports are herein appraised were reviewed in the following issues:

June—Ironwood, Michigan, and Two Rivers, Wisconsin.

July—Berkeley, California, Lynchburg, Virginia, and Pontiac. Michigan.

August—Austin, Texas, Staunton, Virginia, and Westerville, Ohio.

September—Fort Worth, Texas, Kenosha, Wisconsin, and Oberlin, Ohio.

November—Brunswick, Georgia, and Cincinnati, Ohio.

December—Dayton, Ohio, Durham, North Carolina, Roanoke, Virginia, and Westmont, Quebec.

The twenty criteria upon which the ratings of the reports were based, briefly stated, are as follows:

[1] "Appraising Municipal Reports," National Municipal Review, March, 1928, pp. 150–153.

#### I. DATE OF PUBLICATION

1. *Promptness.* The report will have little value unless published soon after the end of the period covered,—six weeks as a maximum.

#### II. PHYSICAL MAKE-UP

2. *Size.* Convenient for reading and filing, preferably 6″ x 9″.

3. *Paper and type.* Paper should be of a grade and the type of such size and character as to be easily read.

4. *Important facts.* The more important facts should be emphasized by a change of type or by artistic presentation.

5. *Attractiveness.* The cover, title, introduction, and general appearance should aim to attract the reader and encourage further examination.

#### III. CONTENT

*A. Illustrative Material*

6. *Diagrams and charts.* Certain established rules should be followed to insure an accurate and effective presentation.

7. *Maps and pictures.* A few well-chosen maps to indicate certain improvements and a liberal supply of pictures, pertinent to the report, should be included.

8. *Distribution* Great care should be exercised in placing the illustrative material contiguous to the relevant reading material

*B. Composition*

9. *Table of contents.* A short table of contents in the front of the report is a great aid for ready reference

10. *Organization chart.* An organization chart or table indicating services rendered by each unit, if placed in the front of the report, will help the reader to a clearer understanding of what follows.

11. *Letter of transmittal.* A short letter of transmittal which either contains or is followed by a summary of outstanding accomplishments and recommendations for the future should open the report.

12. *Recommendations and accomplishment.* A comparison of past recommendations with the progress toward their execution will serve as an index to the year's achievements

13. *Length.* Fifty pages should be the maximum length.

14. *Literary style.* The text should be clear and concise, reflecting proper attention to grammar, sentence structure, and diction.

15. *Arrangement.* The report of the various governmental units should correlate with the organization structure, or follow some other logical arrangement.

16. *Balanced content.* The material should show a complete picture, and each activity should occupy space in proportion to its relative importance.

17. *Statistics.* Certain statistics must be included but, wherever appropriate, they should be supplemented by simple diagrams or charts.

18. *Comparative data.* The present year's accomplishments should be compared with those of previous years, but only with full consideration of all factors involved.

19. *Financial statements.* Three or four financial statements should be included showing amount expended and the means of financing each function and organization unit.

20. *Propaganda.* It is unethical and poor taste to include material for departmental or personal aggrandizement. Photographs of officials, especially of administrators, would seem out of place in a public report.

The application of these criteria to the reports is shown in the accompanying table.

### FALLIBILITY ADMITTED

The failure of this appraisal scheme to do full justice in all cases is readily admitted. For example, the Berkeley report, which rates lowest on the basis of the criteria herein established, must have created wide attention for it called forth a half-column editorial in the *New York Times.* It is further admitted that the criteria are mainly subjective and therefore the assigned values are largely dependent upon the judgment of the individual appraiser. A further inherent weakness in the plan is its failure to attach relative "weights" to the various criteria. As a result, under the present method the fact that a report is well illustrated by diagrams and charts counts no more than does the grade of paper and character of type. In the light of the experience in applying these criteria to over thirty reports, an attempt will be made during the coming year to remedy some of these defects.

### CONCLUSIONS

In comparing the appraisal of the more recent reports with those appraised in the article of last March, there are some encouraging signs; but in some respects retrogression rather than progression is to be noted.

*Promptness.* It is gratifying to observe that the average time consumed in getting the report out after the end of the period covered has been shortened from four and one-half months to less than four. Five, or nearly one-third of the seventeen cities had their reports available in less than two months. The time varied all the way from less than a month to nine months. There is still much room for advancement in this respect.

*Physical make-up.* Under this heading the recent reports suffer in comparison, more especially with regard to the emphasis upon important facts. The seventeen reports taken as a whole yield a score of only 264 of a possible 340, a rating of 78 per cent. This is a slight decrease from the earlier reports.

*Illustrative material.* The diagrams and charts were more widely used in the more recent reports, but this gain was more than offset by the use of fewer pictures and maps. The distribution of illustrative material throughout the relevant text was about the same. Of a possible score of 255 the reports yielded 148, or a rating of 58

## TABLE OF COMPARATIVE RATINGS OF MUNICIPAL REPORTS

Explanation: The number "5" denotes approach to an acceptable standard, while "0" indicates the value on that particular criterion to be practically negligible. Intervening numbers denote the degree of variation between these two extremes. A total of 100 would indicate a perfect score.

| Criteria | Austin, Texas | Berkeley, California | Brunswick, Georgia | Cincinnati, Ohio | Dayton, Ohio | Durham, North Carolina | Fort Worth, Texas | Ironwood, Michigan | Kenosha, Wisconsin | Lynchburg, Virginia | Oberlin, Ohio | Pontiac, Michigan | Roanoke, Virginia | Staunton, Virginia | Two Rivers, Wisconsin | Westerville, Ohio | Westmont, Quebec |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. DATE OF PUBLICATION | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Promptness | 4 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 3 |
| II. PHYSICAL MAKE-UP | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Size | 3 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 3 |
| 3. Paper and type | 5 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| 4. Important facts | 3 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| 5. Attractiveness | 4 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| III. CONTENT | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *A. Illustrative Material* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6. Diagrams and charts | 1 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| 7. Maps and pictures | 1 | 2 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| 8. Distribution | 1 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 2 |
| *B. Composition* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9. Table of Contents | 4 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 10. Organization chart | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 11. Letter of transmittal | 2 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 5 |
| 12. Recommendations and accomplishments | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| 13. Length | 3 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| 14. Literary style | 4 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| 15. Arrangement | 4 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 16. Balanced content | 3 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| 17. Statistics | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| 18. Comparative data | 1 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 0 |
| 19. Financial statements | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| 20. Propaganda | 3 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 5 |
| Totals | 54 | 50 | 73 | 83 | 58 | 55 | 73 | 56 | 79 | 81 | 80 | 66 | 62 | 76 | 65 | 59 | 57 |

per cent. This compares with 62 per cent for the previous year.

*Composition.* Here there was slight improvement. Only four of the seventeen reports, however, included a table of contents, and organization charts appear in but seven. Nearly all the reports had a letter of transmittal, but in some it was merely a perfunctory form.

In the length of the later reports there is reason to hope that eventually writers of reports will give more consideration to their readers. Last year the average length of the reports was 90 pages, while this year the average length was 78 pages. If all reports had been perfect on the basis of composition, the total score would have been 1,020. The actual score amounted to 671, giving a rating of 66 per cent as compared with 64 per cent for the previous year.

It was hoped that the creation of a municipal report division in the REVIEW would stimulate interest in the subject, and effect an improvement in the technique of public reporting. If the effort has been a contributory cause to more prompt and shorter reports, then perhaps the trial has been worth while.

# THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL IN GERMAN CITIES

BY ROGER H. WELLS
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*A review of the status and results of direct legislation and the recall in German municipal government, 1919–1928.* :: :: :: ::

THE German Revolution of 1918 inaugurated an era of far-reaching political, economic, and social changes. On the political side, the post-war period brought, among other things, universal suffrage, proportional representation, the parliamentary form of government, and the initiative, referendum, and recall (*Volksbegehren* and *Volksentscheid*).[1] It is the purpose of this article to discuss the initiative, referendum, and recall in Germany, with particular reference to the cities.

At the outset, a brief historical survey may be of interest. Such an inquiry could begin with the popular assemblies of the early Teutonic tribes, but, for practical purposes, one may start with the nineteenth century. During this century, direct legislation was advocated by various German writers who built upon the foundations laid by Rousseau and the French Revolution, and who were also influenced by the practical example of direct government in Switzerland.[2]

[1] Under *Volksbegehren* and *Volksentscheid*, the Germans usually include the initiative, referendum, and recall, without sharply distinguishing between them. Thus, a *Begehren* may be either an initiative, a referendum, or a recall petition; while an *Entscheid* is the popular vote on an initiated or referred bill or a recall petition. In the present article, "initiative," "referendum," and "recall" are used according to their American definitions.

[2] The first of these writers was the Socialist, M. Rittinghausen (*La législation directe par le peuple*, Paris, 1850), who wrote direct legislation into the first party programs of the German

Moreover, as far back as 1869, direct legislation was incorporated in the program of the German Socialist party. Undoubtedly, the general adoption of the initiative, referendum, and recall during the last ten years has been due in no small measure to the Social Democrats. Finally, mention should be made of certain local precedents which are important for this study.

PRECEDENTS FOR DIRECT LEGISLATION

The first of these is the fact that, throughout a large part of the nineteenth century, there were elements of direct lawmaking in German local government. In the smallest communities, the town meeting of all voters (*Gemeindeversammlung*) was often substituted for and performed the functions of the elected town or village council. For example, in Baden, the town meeting was prescribed for all *Gemeinden* having less than five hundred qualified voters,[1] and a similar arrangement also existed in other German states. Indeed, these provisions for a town meeting have for the most part been retained down to the present time.

But it was in Bavaria that the principles of direct local government were most extensively employed. Under the Municipal Government Act of 1869, direct legislation in some form was authorized in all cities and towns.[2] In the towns, irrespective of size, there existed both an elected council and an assembly of all voters. Certain kinds of questions, *e.g.*, the formation of a new town from parts of existing towns, were required by law to be submitted to the town meeting for final decision. Other questions, *e.g.*, a change from town to city government, might be brought to a vote of the town meeting through a petition initiated by one-tenth of the voters. On the other hand, for those Bavarian communities legally classed as "cities," there was much less direct government. There was no town meeting and no local initiative, but a local referendum was made mandatory in cases involving a change from city to town government or from city to city-county government, in matters relating to the lease or usufruct of city lands, and in other specified instances.

In addition to town meetings and the local initiative and referendum in Bavaria, a special type of direct municipal legislation has been more or less continuously advocated in Germany since 1907. This is the *Gemeindebestimmungsrecht* or principle of "local option" as applied to the liquor problem.[3] As a result of the agitation, various local option proposals have been before the *Reichstag*, notably in 1912, 1923, 1925, and 1926.[4] According to the project of 1923, a local

Socialists. See Max Fetzer, *Das Referendum im deutschen Staatsrecht* (Stuttgart, 1923), *passim*; and Louis Faure, *Les institutions de gouvernement direct en Allemagne depuis la guerre* (Paris, 1926), *passim*.

[1] See Ernst Walz, ed., *Das badische Gemeinderecht* (Heidelberg, 1914), p. 51 and *passim*.

[2] See Karl Weber and Karl A. von Sutner, eds., *Bayerische Gemeindeordnung* (10th ed., Munich, 1913), *passim*. The restricted local suffrage which formerly prevailed in Bavaria and other German states must be kept in mind in the above discussion of town meetings and direct legislation.

[3] The paragraph on local option is primarily based on personal interviews with officials of the *Deutscher Verein gegen den Alkoholismus* (Berlin-Dahlem) and upon information contained in pamphlets supplied by that organization. See also Adolph E. Meyer, "Prohibition Movement in Germany," *Current History*, xxvi (April, 1927), pp. 65–67.

[4] A federal law was demanded because questions relating to liquor licenses were already regulated by federal statutes and hence did not fall within the legislative authority of the states and cities.

option question might be submitted to popular vote if one-fifth of the qualified voters in the municipality so petitioned. If three-fourths of the registered voters took part in the poll, and if two-thirds of those voting favored the measure, it was to be considered adopted. These local option bills have met with strong opposition in the *Reichstag* and have always been defeated in spite of support from the Communist and Socialist parties as well as from temperance and prohibition forces.

Meanwhile, the anti-alcohol propaganda continues and has given rise to "straw votes" (*Probeabstimmungen*) in many communities as to whether or not the inhabitants favored the adoption of the principle of local option. Thus, in December, 1925, there were no less than sixty-four *Probeabstimmungen* in widely separated cities all over Germany. These votes were in no sense official or carried out by means of the existing election machinery, but in a number of cases, local officials voluntarily assisted in the canvassing.[1]

### WIDELY ADOPTED AFTER 1918 REVOLUTION

From what has just been said, it is apparent that both the theory and the practice of direct legislation were not unknown in pre-war Germany. Nevertheless, it was only with the Revolution of 1918 that there followed a widespread adoption of the initiative, referendum, and recall. At present, one or more of these devices are authorized, not only in the constitution of the *Reich*, but also in the constitutions of all the states except Waldeck.[2] However, in the municipal sphere, direct legislation and the recall have not been so widely taken up. The first task of the Revolution was to reform the *Reich* and the *Länder*, in consequence of which local government in a number of states (*e.g.*, Prussia) was allowed to carry on practically unchanged save for mandatory electoral changes such as universal suffrage and proportional representation. Of the eighteen German states, there are now nine—Baden, Bavaria, Bremen,[3] Brunswick, Lippe, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Oldenburg, Saxony, and Thuringia—which authorize their cities to use one or more forms of direct legislation and the recall.[4] The existing legal provisions on the subject are set forth in the following tabular summary and in the subsequent explanation.[5]

PRESENT LEGAL STATUS OF MUNICIPAL INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL

*Initiative*

States authorizing—Bremen, Brunswick, Saxony, Thuringia.

[1] The use of straw votes in German local government is not confined to the liquor problem, although such votes have been chiefly employed in that connection.

[2] The exception is unimportant as Waldeck has recently voted to unite with Prussia, the decision to take effect in 1929. For the federal and state constitutional provisions on the initiative, referendum, and recall, see Otto Ruthenberg, ed., *Verfassungsgesetze des Deutschen Reichs und der deutschen Länder* (Berlin, 1926). The best brief article on direct legislation and the recall in the *Reich* and in the states is Richard Thoma, "The Referendum in Germany," *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, third series, x, pt. 1 (February, 1928), pp. 55–73. This article, however, does not deal with local government. See also Johannes Mattern, *Principles of the Constitutional Jurisprudence of the German National Republic* (Baltimore, 1928), chap. xii.

[3] For the two harbor cities, Bremerhaven and Vegesack. Bremen itself has the status of a state.

[4] The initiative, referendum, and recall are also usually authorized for the towns or communes (*Gemeinden* or *Landgemeinden*) as well as for the cities (*Städte*), and, less frequently, for the counties (*Kreisen*).

[5] The table is compiled from the *Städteordnungen* and *Gemeindeordnungen* now in force. Space will not permit an enumeration of these statutes nor of the commentaries upon them.

Form—All states: indirect initiative.

Petition, number of signatures—Bremen, Brunswick: one-fifth of registered voters.
Saxony, Thuringia: one-third of registered voters.

Vote necessary to adopt—All states: majority of registered voters must vote; affirmative majority of valid ballots cast.

*Referendum*

States authorizing—Bremen, Brunswick, Saxony, Thuringia.

Form—Saxony: popular referendum.
Bremen, Brunswick, Thuringia: legislative referendum.

Petition—Saxony: one-tenth of registered voters.

Vote required—Saxony: vote necessary to defeat,—negative majority of registered voters.
Bremen, Brunswick, Thuringia: vote necessary to adopt,—majority of registered voters must vote, affirmative majority of valid ballots cast.

*Recall*

States authorizing—Baden, Bavaria, Bremen Brunswick, Lippe, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Oldenburg, Saxony, Thuringia.

Form—All states: petition and popular vote on dissolution of council.
Baden: minister of interior may order popular vote on dissolution.
Bavaria: council may order popular vote on dissolution.

Petition—Baden, Lippe, Oldenburg, Saxony, Thuringia: one-third of registered voters.
Mecklenburg-Schwerin: one-fourth of registered voters.
Bavaria, Bremen, Brunswick: one-fifth of registered voters.

Vote necessary to dissolve council—Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Oldenburg: affirmative majority of votes cast.
Bavaria: three-fifths majority of votes cast.
Lippe: majority of registered voters must vote, majority of votes cast must be affirmative.
Baden, Bremen, Brunswick, Saxony, Thuringia: affirmative majority of all registered voters.

### INDIRECT INITIATIVE

As shown in the table, the municipal initiative is authorized in the indirect rather than in the direct form. That is, if the regular legislative authority of the city enacts the measure proposed, no popular vote takes place. The Bavarian law of 1919 provided for the popular initiation of measures which the council might adopt, amend, or reject, but in case of rejection or amendment, no popular vote was held.[1] This unique feature was repealed by the *Gemeindeordnung* of 1927 which contains nothing on the initiative. In Bremen and Brunswick, the council's power is limited to the adoption or rejection of the initiated ordinance in the exact form in which it is submitted; but in Thuringia, the council may make minor changes in an initiated proposal.[2] Saxony allows the use of the initiative in connection with any matter which permits of regulation through local statute, while in the other states, various items such as budget and salary bills are specifically excluded.

With the exception of Saxony, where there are no restrictions of time, an initiated measure which has been rejected by the people cannot be resubmitted until after the next election of the council. The same rule holds with reference to the amendment by the council of ordinances adopted by the people.[3] The question has been raised as to whether it is possible to use the initiative as a means of directly electing certain executive officers who are legally chosen by the council. Such action is probably illegal; at the most, it is to be regarded merely as a straw vote which the council may follow or disregard at pleasure.[4] Only in

[1] Bavaria, *Gesetz über die Selbstverwaltung* (1919), Art. 29.

[2] The Saxon law is silent on the question of conciliar amendments.

[3] This applies to both the initiative and the referendum.

[4] See *Kommunalpolitische Blätter*, xv (April 25, 1924), p. 140.

Thuringia is such an employment of the initiative specifically forbidden by law.

The popular referendum, *i.e.*, one invoked by popular petition, is found only in Saxony.[1] Even here, its use is limited to two cases, namely, when the council votes for annexation to another city, or when the state ministry decrees the compulsory union of cities. If a majority of the registered voters votes against the union, no further action may be taken in the first case until a new council has been elected; while in the second case, the decision of the state ministry is deferred for three years. The other three states have the legislative referendum, *i.e.*, one which may be ordered by the municipal legislative authority. It will be recalled that the legislative referendum was used for certain purposes in Bavarian cities before the Revolution. Some of these uses were continued in the act of 1919, but no form of referendum is authorized in the *Gemeindeordnung* of 1927.[2] In general, the type of question excluded from the legislative referendum is much the same as for the initiative, *e.g.*, in Thuringia, budgets and taxes, rates to be charged for municipal services, and wages and salaries of city officials and employees.

### RECALL USED ONLY FOR DISSOLUTION OF COUNCIL

The popular recall may not at present be legally used against individual officers as in many American cities. On the contrary, it may be employed only to determine if the city council shall be "dissolved" and a new election held.[3] If the people vote for the dissolution, there is no prohibition against the present councilmen again becoming candidates. In the troubled period which immediately followed the Revolution, the recall was sometimes authorized against the individual office-holder. Thus, under the Socialist régime in Brunswick, the *Bürgermeister* and other members of the *Stadtmagistrat* were all directly elected by the people and were individually and collectively subject to recall.[4] These provisions were not retained in the *Städteordnung*, of 1924. While normally the machinery for recall is set in motion by popular petition, in two states an alternative method is authorized. Thus, in Bavaria, the council itself may order a recall election, while in Baden the minister of the interior possesses a similar power. As a rule, a council elected after a successful dissolution only serves out the unexpired term of its predecessor.[5] In addition to the popular recall, German cities have also experimented with a "party recall." Since the writer has already discussed the party recall in a previous article, it need only be mentioned in this connection.[6]

[1] Lippe (*Vorläufige Gemeindeverfassungsgesetz*, 1919, Art. 16) authorized a popular referendum if 30 per cent of the qualified voters so petitioned. Moreover, under the same act (Art. 15), the *Stadtrat*, which corresponds to the *Magistrat* in Prussian cities, could appeal to the voters in case of dispute with the directly elected council. These provisions were not included in the new *Gemeindeverfassungsgesetz* of 1927.

[2] See M. Roesch, ed., *Bayerische Gemeindeordnung* (Munich, 1923), pp. 187–188 and *passim*.

[3] As a rule, the dissolution of the council affects the tenure of various unpaid executive officers (*Magistrate*, etc.) who are chosen by the council after each new conciliar election.

[4] Brunswick: *Gesetz über die Wahlen der Vorsteher und der Mitglieder des Rates in den Städten* (1919), Arts. 3, 7, 12. This recall was invoked by petition signed by one-fifth of the qualified voters; a majority of the votes cast was necessary to remove from office.

[5] In Bavaria and Brunswick, if the recall fails, no new attempt may be made for one year. Bavaria also allows no recall vote during the first year of the council's term of office.

[6] "Partisanship and Parties in German Municipal Government," National Municipal Review, August, 1928, especially pp. 479–481.

Having surveyed the existing legal provisions, one may now inquire as to the extent to which the municipal initiative, referendum, and recall have been used during the past decade. So far as the writer could determine, there have been only two attempts to invoke the initiative. In 1926, in the city of Holzminden, Brunswick (population in 1925, 12,192), an initiated proposal to change the *Bürgermeister's* term of office failed to reach a final popular vote because it was not supported by one-fifth of the registered voters. A similar initiated measure in the city of Escherhausen, Brunswick (population in 1925, 1,964), was satisfactorily disposed of by the council; consequently, the sponsors of the petition allowed the matter to drop. Five cases of referendum votes were reported. In 1922, the city council of Fürth, Bavaria (population in 1925, 73,693), ordered a referendum on the question of annexation to Nuremberg which was decisively defeated. Annexation referenda have likewise been voted upon in at least four small towns or communes (*Landgemeinden*).[1] The recall, however, has been more extensively employed as is shown below.

### I. R. AND R. SELDOM USED

From the preceding discussion, it is apparent that direct legislation and the recall are seldom employed in German cities. This is especially true of the

[1] Lercha (1927), Meisatal (1927), and Pesterwitz (1926), all in Saxony; Allrode (1925) in Brunswick.

THE POPULAR RECALL IN GERMAN MUNICIPALITIES, 1919–1928 *

| Place | Date | Population (1925) | City or town | Recall of | Action |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Baden | | | | | |
| Nordrach | 1924 | 1,587 | Town | Council | Failed |
| Oos | 1927 | 4,361 | Town | Council | Failed |
| Bavaria | | | | | |
| Munich | 1920 | 680,704 | City | Council | Failed |
| Treuchtlingen | 1920 | 4,405 | City | Council | † |
| Immenstadt | 1925 | 5,614 | City | Council | Adopted |
| Forchheim | 1927 | 9,574 | City | Council | Failed |
| Kaufbeuren | 1927 | 9,160 | City | Council | Adopted |
| Offenburg | 1927 | 750 | Town | Council | Failed |
| Brunswick | | | | | |
| Schöningen | 1920 | 9,689 | City | Bürgermeister | Failed |
| Schöningen | 1925 | 9,689 | City | Council | Failed |
| Oldenburg | | | | | |
| Eversten | 1923 | 2,000 | Town | Council | † |
| Saxony | | | | | |
| Wiesa | 1928 | 2,954 | Town | Council | Failed |
| Thuringia | | | | | |
| Bischleben | 1926 | 1,700 | Town | Council | Failed |
| Ilmenau | 1926 | 13,612 | City | Council | Failed |
| Gera | 1927 | 81,402 | City | Council | Failed |
| Neuhaus | 1927 | 4,814 | City | Council | Failed |
| Apolda | † | 25,703 | City | Council | † |
| Schlochtheim | † | 3,830 | City | Council | † |

* The data given above are based upon a careful examination of the files of the chief municipal journals and upon questionnaires sent by the writer to various states and cities. The list is not complete owing to the fact that not all the questionnaires were returned; but it is sufficiently complete to give an accurate picture of the results of direct legislation and the recall. In addition to cities (*Städte*), towns (*Landgemeinden*) are included in the tabulation.

† Questionnaires not returned or returned with incomplete data.

larger municipalities, Munich being the only *Grossstadt* which has invoked the popular recall. Moreover, the comparative non-use of direct legislation and the recall is not limited to the cities; it is also found in the federal and state jurisdictions as well. In the *Reich*, the sole case is the initiated measure confiscating the princes' property which was submitted to popular vote in 1926.[1] Thus far, in all the states combined, there have been only twelve instances where some form of the initiative, referendum, or recall has been actually applied.[2] Of these twelve, no less than eight directly or indirectly involved the recall or dissolution of the state legislature.

Hence it appears that both for the cities and the states, the recall has a distinct preference over the initiative and referendum. If one asks why this is, the explanation is to be found chiefly in the complexities of Germany's multi-party system. An analysis of the various recall elections makes this fact obvious. For example, in Munich, the non-Socialist parties attempted to overthrow the Socialist majority in the city council; while in Gera, it was the Socialist and Communist minorities which resorted to the same weapon. In Kaufbeuren, a dispute between the parties as to the council's choice of *Bürgermeister* led finally to a recall election. In short, the recall is a party instrument used to improve the representation or position of the party in the municipal legislature. Hampered by unstable coalitions, partisan strife, and deadlocks, German councils do not always serve out their full term of office. Indeed, one may wonder why the recall is not more freely employed. The answer is twofold.

[1] See Harold F. Gosnell, "The German Referendum on the Princes' Property," *American Political Science Review*, xxi (February, 1927), pp. 119–123.

[2] This statement is based upon investigations made by the writer. See also Thoma, *op. cit.* Three of the twelve cases related to boundary changes. The plebiscites under the treaty of Versailles are not counted.

### REASONS FOR SLIGHT USE OF RECALL

In the first place, and this is especially true of the larger cities, it is not easy to secure the necessary number of signatures for the recall petition. Nor is it less difficult to obtain the affirmative vote of a majority of the registered voters, or even of three-fifths of those voting. With these stringent requirements, it is not surprising that only two recall elections out of fourteen were successful. Under such circumstances, the party leaders hesitate to incur the trouble and expense of appealing to the people unless there is strong prospect of success. Possibly if the procedure for direct legislation and the recall were made easier, these devices might be more extensively employed. Yet this solution does not commend itself to many Germans who hesitate to place these weapons within the reach of each one of the many parties.

In the second place, the recall is not widely used because there are other and sometimes easier ways of bringing about a new election of the council. Thus in Brunswick and Thuringia, the council may vote its own dissolution and thereby terminate a deadlock. In many states, the minister of the interior or some central authority has the power to dissolve municipal councils. During the past decade, a considerable number of cases have arisen where the minister was compelled to take this action. The procedure is very simple. The Socialist and Communist councilmen (or the non-Socialist members as the case may be) resign in a body, the council no longer has a quorum, and therefore, the minister must dissolve it.[3]

[3] The party substitutes provided for by the system of proportional representation also

CONCLUSIONS

After ten years of experience, it is not certain that the initiative, referendum, and recall have won for themselves a permanent place in German city government. The powerful Social Democratic party and, to a less extent, the Communists, still advocate direct legislation and the recall for all municipalities. On the other hand, where the first post-war municipal codes have been amended or replaced by later legislation drafted under non-socialist influences,[1] the scope of direct government has been considerably limited. The proposed Prussian Municipal Government Act authorizes a popular vote only upon the question of changing from the *Magistrat* to the *Bürgermeister* form of city government or *vice versa*.[2] The Model City Government Act (*Reichstädteordnung*), proposed in 1924 by the important German League of Cities (*Deutscher Städtetag*), makes no provision for the initiative, referendum, and recall but does allow the council to dissolve itself by two-thirds vote.[3] Outside of radical circles, public opinion is more or less opposed to such forms of direct government, and, at the most, is willing to concede their validity in only two cases, namely, for the recall of the council and possibly for the decision of annexation questions.[4]

One may, therefore, express the conclusion that while the formal legal provisions governing the initiative, referendum, and recall in German cities may remain for some time, these devices will in the future as in the past be sparingly used. As emergency weapons, they have some value, and this is particularly true of the recall. But it is highly improbable that they will be as widely used as they now are in some American cities.

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resign. The question of the legality of such resignations is discussed in the previous article, "Partisanship and Parties in German Municipal Government," *op. cit.*

[1] As in Bavaria, Brunswick, Lippe, Saxony, and Thuringia.

[2] See *Kommunal Umschau*, ii (March 20, 1926), p. 112.

[3] *Entwurf einer Reichstädteordnung* (Berlin, 1925), Art. 12. For a good English translation of the *Reichstädteordnung*, see B. W. Maxwell, "The Proposed National Municipal Code of Germany," *Public Management*, ix (June, 1927), pp. 511–515.

[4] See C. Becker, *Zeitschrift für Kommunalwirtschaft*, xvi (May 10, 1926), pp. 441–442.

# RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

THE FINANCES AND FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF NEW YORK CITY. Recommendations and Report of the Sub-Committee on Budget, Finance, and Revenue, of the City Committee on Plan and Survey. Herbert H. Lehman, Chairman. New York: Columbia University Press, 1928. Pp. 420.

Every public official and taxpayer who is interested in knowing the complexities of municipal finance in our larger cities can well afford to read this book. The questions respecting financial procedure here raised, and answered, should be enquired into for every city.

In June, 1926, Mayor Walker appointed 507 citizens to make a survey of the city and a plan for its future development. To proceed to this end, various sub-committees were named, including that on budget, finance, and revenue, comprising a membership of seventy-five, under the chairmanship of Herbert H. Lehman, more recently elected lieutenant-governor of the state. Among the members of this committee are found such names as Richard S. Childs, Richard M. Hurd, Otto H. Kahn, Darwin P. Kingsley, Herman A. Metz, and Edwin R. A. Seligman. Assuming that those invited to serve accepted service, and served, and that they signed the report, there stands ample guarantee of its completeness and impartiality.

The chairman engaged Dr. Lindsay Rogers, Professor of Public Law in Columbia University, to compile the material, and he was assisted in preparing the recommendations by Professors Howard Lee McBain and Robert Murray Haig, both of Columbia University.

The several chapters of the main body of the report were written by Joseph McGoldrick, Luther Gulick, A. E. Buck, Russell Forbes, Dr. John Dickinson of Princeton, and others. The appendices were prepared by still other authorities, while it is acknowledged that the entire report was made possible only by the assistance of Peter J. McGowan, secretary, and Thomas P. Smith, Jr., examiner, of the board of estimate, and other city officials. The high caliber of the authors reassures us as to adequacy of treatment of the subject.

The first sixty pages are devoted to the recommendations, under two main headings of Budget Problems and Revenue Problems. The second general section comprises 246 pages, in eight chapters, dealing with the fiscal structure of the city, planning of expenditures, expenditures for salaries, purchasing agencies and methods, the revenues of the city, the assessment of property for taxation and special assessments, the city's debt policies, and, finally, subway finance. The third general section of the report, 115 pages, comprises a series of nineteen appendices containing illustrative material pertinent to the preceding chapters. As to the body of the report, it is apparently a comprehensive presentation of the city's financial activities. (See October REVIEW, p. 600.) The very important subject of assessment of property was not investigated because of "lack of facilities," and pensions are not mentioned. The subject of subway finances is discussed at length.

Among the budget recommendations is one proposing a separate tax bill for education, in order that the people might become acquainted with the cost of education. It is proposed that the fiscal year be revised; that a truly executive budget be adopted, including revenues as well as expenditures, and also capital improvements; that condemnation procedure be strengthened; that salaries be adjusted scientifically; that purchasing and property control be centralized, etc. The revenue recommendations include the development of new sources of city revenue, including a gasoline tax; the abandonment of the state direct tax on real estate; extended use of special assessments; metering of water supply; and a tax on unincorporated businesses.

Already, one budget period has passed. An outsider wonders how far the constructive recommendations of the report thereon were availed of, or will be in the future.

C. E. RIGHTOR.

Detroit.

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REGIONAL SURVEY OF NEW YORK AND ITS ENVIRONS: VOLUME V—PUBLIC RECREATION. By Lee F. Hanmer and Associates. New York: Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs.

The studies in this volume afford striking evidence of the importance of recreation as a governmental activity and a public responsibility. The region includes 5,528 square miles in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, and ten millions of

people. An analysis of the park, playground, and waterfront spaces and the probable present and future needs for recreation are set forth. However, it is not a "planning" proposal, as such, with an immediate program. This will be presented later as a part of the comprehensive regional plan.

This volume is divided into four major sections. The first discusses the general relation of recreation to the regional plan, and the growth, present extent, distribution, and value of recreation spaces. The second covers the use and opportunities for extensions of park and play areas in view of proposed space standards. The third sets up the results of a group of special field studies on the attendance, use, adequacy, etc., of particular recreation areas. Finally, there is an historical and legal treatment of public rights in waterfronts within this region.

There are some interesting phases of this study that merit notice. A table in Chapter II shows the increase in population and in park acreage from 1900 to 1925 by boroughs, and the wide variations existing in the number of persons to each acre of park space. In 1925 Manhattan had 1,130 persons per park acre, while the Bronx had only 212. The relatively recent and rapid development of county park systems both in New York and New Jersey and the effect on the value of abutting properties are also briefly recounted in this chapter. That charges for recreational facilities and concessions may be an important revenue is indicated by the collection of $465,000 by the Westchester Park Commission in 1927 from such sources.

What park and playground spaces are now located within this region, where are they, and of what size are they? These questions are answered in Chapter III with exact and complete data and some excellent maps and charts. Here again we notice the evident lack of any standard as regards total park acreage and population, with a range of less than one-eighth of an acre to 21.4 acres per 1,000 population. In addition, a count is taken of the private golf and country clubs in the region as to membership, property valuation, and acreage. Another important feature of this survey is the proposal in Chapter VI of definite standards for park and playground spaces based on several first-hand studies. Application of these standards to 138 districts in New York City revealed great differences in playground adequacy with only 25 of the 138 districts above the minimum standard for space.

This survey affords an excellent factual basis for the preparation of a concrete regional recreational program. It is clearly written, devoid of padding, and packed with pertinent data and should prove of the greatest value to regional and city planners and to all who are interested in public recreation.

Randolph O. Huus.
Western Reserve University.

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Scientific Purchasing. By Edward T. Gushée and L. F. Boffey. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1928. Pp. ix, 196.

Purchasing. By W. N. Mitchell. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1927. Pp. xiii, 385.

These books are important additions to the rapidly-growing volume of literature on purchasing. Since Twyford's pioneer work was published in 1915, six other volumes have now been issued on the general subject of matériel procurement.

In 1915 centralized purchasing in private and public business was by no means sufficiently systematized to be termed a science. It is now, however, fast becoming so, and Gushée and Boffey are the pioneers in discussing purchasing as an organized branch of our business system. They have written from a wealth of personal experience, and have produced a book in which an amazing amount of information is contained within 200 printed pages. From the standpoint of conciseness, *Scientific Purchasing* is a valuable manual for the busy purchasing agent.

The conciseness of this volume is likely, however, to delimit its field of usefulness. Instructors in the fifty-odd courses in purchasing, which are today being offered in colleges, universities, and Y. M. C. A. trade schools, have long been looking for a suitable textbook. *Scientific Purchasing* is too condensed for classroom use, except as a supplementary text. Written for the trained purchasing agent, the principles set forth are not sufficiently elaborated for the average student who approaches a purchasing course with an open mind and a blank notebook. It is to be regretted, too, that the authors, with their own experience and hundreds of successful systems to draw upon, failed to include more illustrative forms. Only a few forms are presented, and these are grouped together in a concluding chapter. The principles of scientific purchasing would have been easier to comprehend if illustrated by leading and representative practices.

The absence of sub-heads also detracts from the practicability of the volume.

But these weaknesses of the book are far outweighed by its distinct merits. The subject is presented in two parts—the first dealing with the principles, and the second with the methods, of scientific purchasing. The principles are seven in number, as follows: centralization of purchasing responsibility, competent personnel, adequate equipment and records, coördination with other departments, the knowledge of what to buy, material standards and specifications, and fair dealing with suppliers. The reviewer knows of no clearer and more explicit statement of the scope of authority of a purchasing office than the following, which appears on pages 13 and 14:

> In substance, centralization of purchasing insures that all purchases shall be handled and consummated by the purchasing division; that the purchasing division shall be responsible for the procurement of materials or equipment in conformity with specifications or in keeping with the requirements for which the goods are specified; that the selection of sources of supply shall be the function of the purchasing division; that while intermediate negotiations may be conducted between sales concerns and other departments of the buyer's company, such negotiations shall be conducted with the knowledge and approval of the purchasing agent; that the consummation of all purchase transactions shall be left to the purchasing department—and, by no means least important—that these prerogatives of the purchasing department shall be understood and willingly adhered to by all other department heads and officials, without surrendering their own rightful functions.

The second part of the book discusses with equal clarity the various steps involved in the purchasing procedure, from the determination of need and the filing of an estimate or a requisition, to the issuing of the matériel from the stockroom or its delivery by the supplier for consumption, conversion, or resale.

Mitchell's *Purchasing* is the most detailed and comprehensive discussion now available on the market background of the purchase transaction and on planning the volume of purchases in consonance with the production schedule and sales forecast. It describes fully and completely the precautions to be observed, and the difference in procedure to be followed, in the purchase of raw materials, semi-manufactured goods, and finished goods. This volume is also unique in comprising a full discussion of the purchase budget and the methods of inventory control, and contains a much needed discussion of the monthly or annual report on the work of a purchasing office. It is replete with illustrations which enhance its value for the general reader or student.

The book, however, gives the impression of having been hurriedly written. In many places the discussion is verbose and too highly detailed to be easily understood. It is more adaptable to the field of merchandising than to manufacturing. Nevertheless, Mitchell's *Purchasing* ably supplements *Scientific Purchasing* by Gushée and Boffey; the two in conjunction constitute valuable text material for an academic course in purchasing.

RUSSELL FORBES.

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PROBLEME DER NEUEN STADT BERLIN.[1] Compiled by Erwin Stein and Hans Brennert. Berlin-Friedenau: Deutscher Kommunal-Verlag G.m.b.H., 1926. Pp. 664.

After a good many years, we in America gradually have been orientated to the idea that compounded statistical tables may not really represent all that profitably might be said of the government of our municipalities. It is in this connection that the symposium prepared by Erwin Stein, General Secretary of the Verein für Kommunalwirtchaft und Kommunalpolitik, and Hans Brennert, Director of the Bureau of Information of the City of Berlin, probably will fulfil its highest purpose.

The book is strikingly simple in arrangement. An introductory section treating of the history of Berlin since the creation of the *Gros-Stadt*, of the relations of the governments of the districts and the greater city, and of the problems of regional structure and local administration, brings one immediately to a functional discussion of the activities at present engaged in by the chief city of the Republic. Each of the major functional divisions is treated in two or more short articles upon the more important phases of its operations, written, it should be noted, by the official best qualified to discuss a particular aspect of the administration—the director of the activity. For this reason, doubtless, the publication not infrequently lapses into a Leibnitzian vein, with the prototype of which, the average chamber of commerce pamphlet, we are not altogether unfamiliar in this country. For the most part,

[1] See also the review of other monographs in this series, on pp. 56–58 of this issue.

however, the articles are accurate, concise, and conservative in their estimates.

The compilation evidently was prepared primarily for purposes of popular information rather than scientific evaluation. One wishes at times that the contributors had realized the experimental character of the government of Greater Berlin, its importance to subsequent solutions of the metropolitan problem, and the necessity of a complete record of its operations. The first two sections of the book, embracing less than seventy pages, are altogether inadequate to this purpose. As a presentation, in perspective, of the activities of one of the greatest and most progressive cities of the world, the publication is obviously, however, vastly superior to anything we have yet produced in this country. It is written in vigorous and vivid style, and in the best German tradition.

ROWLAND EGGER.

University of Michigan.



FIRE PROTECTION AND FIRE PREVENTION ORDINANCES. The League of Minnesota Municipalities. University Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1928. Pp. 9.

This pamphlet contains seven ordinances on fire protection and fire prevention subjects prepared by the League of Minnesota Municipalities in the course of its work on a code of ordinances suitable for villages in Minnesota. With certain modifications these fire-protection ordinances, which are now being recommended by the League to village councils in Minnesota, may be enacted separately or as a code.

The first ordinance, No. A, is a general one to cover the construction and manner of enforcement of all ordinances. It is recommended by the League for enactment by all villages of the state. After the first ordinance has been adopted, penalty sections, definitions, and other matters covered by the ordinance may be omitted from future ordinances on any subject.

Ordinance No. B would provide for the establishment of a volunteer fire department, define its organization, make rules for the government of the department, and fix rates of pay. The third ordinance would define fire limits, establish a building code, require permits for construction, and provide for fees. Although electric installations would have to conform to the national electric code, it is apparently the intention that the building code will not be a general code, but will regulate construction only for the purpose of preventing fire hazards.

Regulation of the storage and handling of dangerous liquids is the subject of the fourth ordinance, and the fifth would require permits for the sale at retail of certain fireworks. Ordinance No. F would regulate the manner of construction of radio antennae and guy wires, and the last of the set would regulate the burning of trash.

Through the adoption of these ordinances by the villages a two-fold benefit is anticipated by the league. If the regulations are enforced the loss from fires should be materially decreased. Furthermore, lower fire-insurance rates may result from the credit given for such ordinances in establishing the fire-insurance rate base.

C. A. HOWLAND.



TRAFFIC WORK OF POLICE DEPARTMENTS. Public Safety Series, No. 18. Published by the National Safety Council, 1928. Pp. 30.

This pamphlet is a correlation and analysis of traffic work in the police departments of 103 American cities including all those of the first rank. It presents the facts in such form as to make possible simple, rough comparisons by any person interested in studying the salient features of traffic work either in a given city or on the average throughout the country. It also draws some sound general conclusions as to methods for improving such work.

The pamphlet should be very useful as a means of informing a non-technical person interested in the general subject, or in arousing interest in a community which has not yet had a competent traffic engineer make a survey of its local problem.

New students of traffic control problems, however, should bear in mind that the tendency present in all military organizations for specialists to exalt their specialty at the expense of the fundamental arm—infantry—is paralleled here in the tendency to emphasize traffic work in comparison with the more fundamental patrol and detective work of the police.

GEORGE H. MCCAFFREY.

New York City.

# JUDICIAL DECISIONS

EDITED BY C. W. TOOKE

*Professor of Law, New York University*

**Billboards—Not to Be Classed as Buildings.**—In *Town of Union* v. *Ziller*, 118 So. 293, recently decided by the Supreme Court of Mississippi, the plaintiff sought to enjoin the removal of billboards on his property built of wood and sheet iron and extending some fifty feet in length with a height of eleven feet. The town authorities had created a fire district which included the property in question and provided that there should not be constructed therein any building of sheet iron, wood or other combustible material, and that any such building thereafter constructed should be deemed a nuisance which, after notice to the owner and his failure to act, might be abated by the marshal.

In sustaining the injunction decreed against the town, no question was raised as to the validity of the ordinance, but the court based its decision upon the finding that the word "building" did not include billboards, and that the ordinance, being restrictive of the rights of the property owners, must be strictly construed. See, accord, *New York* v. *Weinberg Co.*, 122 App. Div. 748; *Clark* v. *Lee*, 185 Mass. 223.

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**Streets and Highways—Abutting Owners—Right of Access.**—In *Denman* v. *Tacoma*, 268 Pac. 1043, and *Denman* v. *Mattson*, 268 Pac. 1045, the Supreme Court of Washington reasserted the full control of the public authorities over the grant or revocation of licenses to abutting owners over parking within the street lines, subject to their right of reasonable access. By an improvement of a street which necessitated the building of a high retaining wall, the plaintiff's property was left without immediate access to the street, and the city granted him a permit to construct a driveway on grade over the entire length of the parkway in front of the adjoining property belonging to Mattson. This license was later revoked and permission given him to use only so much of that portion of the parkway as would give him reasonable access to the street. The court held adversely to the plaintiff's claim that his right to use of the parkway was vested, but admitted that a use of part of it must be accorded him to provide him with a reasonable access.

The second suit, adjudicated by the court at the same time, was brought by the plaintiff to compel his neighbor to remove a fence inclosing part of the parking space in question which was necessary to give the plaintiff reasonable access. The defendant claimed that the value of plaintiff's property was so small and that it was so unsuitable for building purposes that the consequent damage to his own property outweighed any advantage to him. The court held, however, that the defendant's rights were subject to those of the public and that the full control of the city over all the lands within the street extended to the appropriation of a part of the parkway for providing access to the plaintiff's property.

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**Street Traffic—Relative Rights of Pedestrians at Crossings Controlled by Automatic Signals.**—In *Griffith* v. *Slaybaugh*, decided by the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia November 5, 1928 (not yet reported), an action by a pedestrian for injuries by the owner of an automobile at a crossing where traffic was controlled by automatic lights, the court reiterates the principle that the duty upon drivers of cars is commensurate with the possibility of the danger to others. In applying this rule, the court lays down emphatically that the driver's right is subordinate to that of the pedestrian at crossings, and that the right of way of the pedestrian who has started to cross when his way is open, continues till he reaches the other side, notwithstanding a change in the signals during his progress. Justice Van Orsdel in the opinion says:

> The rule here announced may appear to be a harsh one, but the traffic conditions in our crowded streets demand it for the protection of life and limb. Drivers of automobiles should remember that pedestrians have the right of way on all crossings, excepting at controlled crossings, where they have the right of way to enter upon the crossing when the crossing is open, and that right of way continues until they have reached the opposite curb. As a matter of public policy and public interest, drivers of automobiles should be held to the strictest accountability where pedestrians are injured at public crossings, and

there should be no laxity on the part of courts in applying the rule of negligence in such cases.[1]

It may be noted that the model municipal traffic ordinance adopted the rule enunciated by the court, and recommends that in cities where public opinion will support such control, the additional provision should be inserted that at controlled crossings the pedestrian shall not start to cross when the signal is against him (Sec. 16). The new motor law of Pennsylvania leaves the relative rights of the driver and of the pedestrian who has started to cross on the open signal indefinite and evidently without any power in the municipality to further regulate by ordinance (Sec. 1017).

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**Zoning—Consent of Neighboring Owners.**—Probably the most important recent case on zoning is *State ex rel.* v. *Roberg*, decided by the Supreme Court of the United States November 19, 1928. The relator was trustee for a philanthropic home for the poor which sought to erect a new building in a restricted district without obtaining from the majority of owners of the neighboring property within 400 feet the consent required by the ordinance. Upon this ground the defendant superintendent of buildings refused to grant a permit, and the plaintiff brought an action to compel its issue. In the Washington courts the decision was adverse, but the Supreme Court reversed the judgment and held that the right of the trustee to use his property in any legitimate way was within the protection of the Federal Constitution. So long as such use would not affect the health, safety, morals or welfare of the community, it fell beyond the domain of the local police power. In any event, the delegation of the control of the matter to the neighboring owners without prescribing a standard of action to be followed was repugnant to the due process clause of the fourteenth amendment.

By its decision in the above case and in that of *Nectow* v. *Cambridge* (48 S. Ct. R. 447), decided May 15 and reported in our July issue, the Supreme Court has put itself upon record against sustaining any application of zoning regulations that clearly are not based upon the protection of the property, safety, morals or general welfare of the community. Several state courts have given far too extensive a force to the court's decision in *Euclid* v. *Ambler Realty Co.* (272 U. S. 365), notwithstanding Justice Sanford's warning that it dealt only with very general principles, and its effect has been to encourage in some instances the enactment of zoning ordinances which may not stand the test of judicial review.

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**Torts—Negligence in Activities Connected with Streets.**—In *Rournbos* v. *Chicago* (not yet reported) the Supreme Court of Illinois recently had before it the question of the liability of the city for the death of a little girl whose clothes were ignited from a pile of rubbish which had been collected and set on fire by an employee of the street cleaning department. In affirming a judgment for the plaintiff, the court in an extended opinion reviews the conflict of authority upon the question whether such care of the streets is to be considered, from the standpoint of tort, a governmental or proprietary function, and takes the more advanced position with those courts which subject the city to liability, although the acts are incidentally in the interest of the public health. (*Missano* v. *The Mayor of New York*, 160 N. Y. 123.)

In *Tillman* v. *District of Columbia* (56 Wash. Law Reporter 854), decided November 5 by the District Court of Appeals, the court holds that there is no liability incurred for injuries to a child from the negligent operation of a sprinkling shower maintained in a public street for the use of children. The court, which has taken advanced ground on the duty of the municipality to maintain the streets in a safe condition, felt bound to follow *Harris* v. *D. C.*, 256 U. S. 650 (1921), in which a similar question was certified to the Supreme Court and the answer given that street cleaning was a governmental and not a proprietary function. (Justices Holmes, Brandeis and Clark dissented.)

In *Warren* v. *Boonville*, 118 So. 290, the Supreme Court of Mississippi holds the town to be immune from liability for injury to a prisoner forced to work on the streets while shackled and chained, from which exposure he lost the use of one of his legs. In this case the injury was not due to any defect in the street or negligence in the care thereof, but was directly caused by the act of officers who were executing the penal laws of the state.

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**Streets and Highways—Dedication—City Plan.**—An interesting situation bearing upon the dedication of highways to the public by the

[1] The court cites as the leading cases: *Gilles* v. *Leas*, 282 Pa. St. 318; *Riddell* v. *Lyon*, 124 Wash. 146; *Patterson* v. *Wagner*, 204 Mich. 593; *O'Connell* v. *Lusk*, 122 Kan. 186; *Quaker Cab Co.* v. *Fisher*, 4 Fed. (2d) 327.

platting and sale of lots arose in *Paducah* v. *Mallory*, 9 S. W. (2d) 1015. The action was for a declaratory judgment wherein the city sought a definition of the rights of the public to certain lands as streets, which were included in territory annexed to the city in 1926. In 1890, an improvement company platted a section lying at the extreme west end of the city and extending beyond its limits over the property of the defendant's predecessor in title, who was largely interested in the development. Upon the maps and blue prints of the company, with reference to which it sold lots, was indicated a boulevard one hundred feet wide which extended through the intervening land. Over that portion the owner granted a right of way to a strip twenty feet wide to a street railroad company and fenced in the remaining portion. In 1923, the widow of the former owner sold off lots in which she recognized the street in describing the property, and upon partition proceedings among the children the street limits were tacitly accepted. After the annexation in 1926, ordinances were passed to improve the street, but the defendant claimed there had been no dedication, and that if there had been, the title of the public had been lost by adverse possession.

The Supreme Court of Kentucky, in holding that the lands in question were irrevocably dedicated by the act of the defendant's predecessor in title, said:

> The lower court was correct in holding that evidence was sufficient to show the dedication of Jefferson street through the property belonging to Dr. Caldwell. It has long been established by the decisions of this court that, when the owner of land divides it into building lots, designating streets and alleys between the lots, making a map thereof, which defines the lots and streets and alleys through the lots, it is a dedication of the streets and alleys, although they have not actually been opened. If the owner of the land has sold the lots as bounded by such streets and alleys, such conduct amounts to an immediate dedication of the streets and alleys to the use of the purchasers and the public. . . . When lots are purchased after such division of property into lots has been made, with a clear reference to the streets and alleys, such streets and alleys become at once irrevocably dedicated to the personal convenience and necessities of the purchasers, and not only to the purchasers alone, but to the public as well. Neither is it necessary that the streets and alleys be accepted by the city or town immediately upon their dedication.

In disposing of the claim of title by adverse possession, the court points out that one who dedicates property to the use of the public and thereafter retains possession of it "holds as a trustee for the public until it may be accepted by the public in some recognized manner." Of course, had the owner erected buildings upon the property in question, the city might be held to have forfeited its power to accept by laches or waiver. (*Jordan* v. *Chenoa*, 166 Ill. 530; *El Paso* v. *Hoagland*, 224 Ill. 263.)

The effect of this decision as bearing upon the Kentucky statutes, which seek to protect the city plan by control of the privilege of dedication, is obvious. For references to recent cases in accord, see note in the October issue of the REVIEW.

# PUBLIC UTILITIES

EDITED BY JOHN BAUER

*Director, American Public Utilities Bureau*

**Commissioners Survey Regulation.**—While state commissions have been subjected to a great deal of criticism during recent years because of their failure to meet the expectations of regulation, they have done very little on their own initiative to remove the difficulties and to place regulation upon an administrable and financially sound basis. Among the principal reasons why regulation has reached practically a state of deadlock, has been the failure of the commissions to see what is necessary to make the system effective. In the main, they have done next to nothing in setting out the problem and in bringing the facts and issues either squarely before the courts or before the legislatures for the purpose of establishing a workable system through legislation.

We have restated many times the fundamental need of clearing up what constitutes "fair value" for rate-making. Under present conditions, "fair value" is an undefined and variable quantity, which is not capable of satisfactory determination, and does not furnish a sound basis of rate control. What is needed is a definite rate base, which will set forth exactly the rights of the investors and the obligations of the consumers, and will be shown constantly by the accounts and the records of the company.

Before the war and the great rise in prices, a workable policy was under process of development. "Fair value" promised then to become substantially what is necessary for effective and sound administration. The great shift in prices, however, has injected the variable and undeterminable reproduction cost factor into valuation. This has made the whole system of rate-making hopelessly cumbersome and inefficient. This development did not come in a day, and the commissions might very well have faced more directly and vigorously the unsatisfactory conditions. With the exception of the Interstate Commerce Commission, in the St. Louis and O'Fallon case, there is not a single commission which has set forth the facts and problems in a comprehensive way, so as to get the favorable consideration of the courts. Nor has any commission formulated a program of what is necessary, and asked for legislative action, although the Massachusetts commission is working somewhat in that direction.

We are glad to note, however, that at least some commissioners realize the gravity of the situation, and are making constructive suggestions, especially to the end of coöperation among the commissions. Chairman William A. Prendergast, of the New York Public Service Commission, discussed the problem at the annual meeting of the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners, at Dallas, Texas, on October 18, 1927. Later he discussed the same subject before a conference of the Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and Maryland commissions, at Philadelphia, January 13, 1928. At this meeting he set out a formula for a fixed rate base, which would start with an adjustment as of a given date, to take into account the price levels and costs at that time, to which subsequently would be added additional investment, and from which would be deducted retirements and further accruing depreciation.

In an address before the American Gas Association, at Atlantic City, on October 10, 1928, Chairman Prendergast made a survey of regulative problems, and he reverted again to the valuation problem and set out for consideration the formula that he had previously proposed. He realizes clearly the extreme difficulties of the present system and the necessity for establishing a definite rate base that eliminates repeated valuations, disputes, and constant litigation. In regard to his particular formula, there may be ground for disagreement—although, as we see it, it might be readily adapted to meet the conditions in most cases. The important point, however, is that he would cut through the confusion of "fair value" and establish a rate base which is definite, exact, and administerable, and which will be actually "fair" and sound from a financial standpoint.

Chairman Prendergast in his latest address considered particularly the conflict between the public and the companies, and pointed out the financial handicaps of the commissions and the municipalities in dealing with valuation. The

companies spend money prodigally in seeking to establish high valuations, and their testimony has usually the superior probative force, because it is not balanced by equal lavishness on the public side. He refers somewhat caustically to municipal officials, that "the conflict over rates has degenerated into a factious proceeding, in which municipal officers endeavor to use the occasion as a means of enhancing their political control over the unthinking elements of the community." While, of course, the commissions are confronted with demagogic appearances, the very situation of regulation promotes them. In most instances there is no other course for the municipalities themselves but to put up the sternest fights possible to get rate adjustments which ought to be made as a matter of ordinary administration, without conflict at all.

The difficulty is in the cumbersome system. If there were a definite rate base, which rested upon clear-cut definition and exact facts, the occasion of conflict would disappear and there would be no room for demagogic displays. The work of rate control would be a scientific procedure, conducted in a quiet and unobtrusive manner, by accountants and engineers. The system is at fault, and, unfortunately, with rare exceptions, there is no clear comprehension among the commissions as to where the trouble lies and what should be done about it.

There is here and there a voice that speaks up with intelligence and vision. Chairman Lewis E. Gettle, of the Wisconsin Railroad Commission, in an address before the Southern Appalachian Power Conference, touched on the same problem, pointing out the larger needs to make regulation effective. He spoke particularly of the difficulty of maintaining an adequate force of experts to deal properly with the many properties under the commission's jurisdiction. He referred also to the difficulties of valuation, and pointed out the impossibility of proceeding with constant revaluations. He did not point out, however, what should be done to remedy the difficulty.

In our opinion, there are three courses which may be pursued simultaneously or seriatim, as the circumstances may require. The first need is for the commissions themselves to realize what they are up against, and to appreciate the fact that regulation will be swept aside if it is not made reasonably effective. If they do realize what is needed, then they may readily coöperate on their own initiative along the lines proposed by Chairman Prendergast. In the second place, they may carry directly and forcefully the situation before the courts in individual cases—as the Interstate Commerce Commission is doing in the St. Louis and O'Fallon case[1]—that regulation is impracticable unless it is placed upon a definite and administrable basis. In the third place, they can bring the facts before the legislature and ask for a legislative survey of the situation, with the purpose of laying down as a matter of direct law how the job of regulation shall be specifically carried on.

The trouble, to start with, is the lack of clear comprehension on the part of the commissions and other public officials. This realization is a necessary prerequisite before any constructive program can be adopted.

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**Public Credit for Water Power Development.**—In our brief survey of fundamental factors to be considered in the development of a water power program, we favored public financing because of the lower interest rate at which the necessary funds could be obtained.

Our position has been called in question as to comparability of conditions. We are asked whether there would be any material difference in interest rate if the securities issued either under private or public financing were based entirely upon the particular utility itself. We concede that probably there would be no marked advantage in lower interest rate through public development and financing, if the bonds issued were to be based wholly upon the water-power properties and their prospective earnings. Under such a limited public arrangement, the cost of financing a large project might even be higher than through a large existing private company with well-established credit.

The assumption underlying the above query is that the general public credit should not be used for a particular public development, that each project should be financed as an independent proposition. We do not share that view. The low interest rate at which either the federal or a state government could borrow money for water-power development, is due to the greatest security under such collective financing. The credit standing of a group improves as the number of people increases, and the foundation of the credit widens. The people, taken collectively, in a state or in the nation, can furnish the greatest

[1] See National Municipal Review, December, 1928, pp. 773–4.

of security for any loan, unless even the combined credit has been impaired by reckless undertakings.

We do not see why the advantage of low interest rates, due to high collective credit, should not be used for any public purpose. If there is public advantage in the development of any particular project, there is no basic reason why the public credit should not be used. We believe it should be, provided that it is not applied to unwarranted objects. High public credit is the expression of collective stability and furnishes a medium for general economic progress.

If each project to be dedicated to public purposes were to be financed as a distinct and independent proposition, the public would penalize itself by adopting needless limitations. If the state or the federal government is acting collectively for public advantage, why should it not proceed to use also the credit which is available because of its collective financial stability? The use of such general public credit for water power development does not mean that the several projects should not be made financially self-sustaining. The policy might well be adopted that the price at which electricity is sold, either for transmission or distribution, must cover the full cost, including depreciation and interest on the invested capital, and also the cost of long-term amortization. This would provide for a financially self-sustaining system. It would not require, however, that each project must be financed as an independent unit. It does not preclude the use of public credit for public purposes.

The view as thus set forth is not novel. It involves no departure from recognized policy in all sorts of public financing of special undertakings. The city of New York, for example, has invested over 300 million dollars in subways, and has issued the bonds upon general city credit, which will enable the rapid transit system to become the more readily self-sustaining. Practically every city in the country which owns its own water system has used its general credit for financing, even though the system must pay its own way through rates charged to consumers. Public streets, roads, sewers, schools, etc., etc., are made available through general public credit.

There is hardly a conceivable improvement undertaken as a general public purpose which has not been financed upon a collective basis. If any project is of sufficient importance to give it a public character, then there is full justification to use the general public credit to make the facilities and service available at the lowest possible cost to the public. This is a policy which applies to all important undertakings. The proposal to base the financing upon the special project is really novel, and is, of course, presented for the purpose of defeating public development and public financing.

May we state again, however, that while we are firmly convinced that public financing is essential in all the important water-power developments, this does not necessarily require public operation. The mode of operation should be determined according to available alternatives.

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**Commissioners Oppose Public Ownership and Operation.**—At the recent meeting of the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners in New Orleans, a special report of unusual interest was presented by the committee on public ownership and operation. It took a flat position against public ownership and operation. It quoted from President Coolidge and Mr. Hoover in support of its position. Its view was that successful business requires men of such broad vision and trained minds as cannot be obtained within public organizations. It held, moreover, that the functions of government are specific, and do not include the operation of business enterprises. "Government in business tends to socialism, and socialism is contrary to all the tradition of our people and to the principles of government as expressed in the constitution of the United States."

And so this organization, which exists for the exchange of experience and discussion of ways and means for the more effective control of utilities, does not find enough to do in its own province, notwithstanding the rather common opinion that the job of regulation is not being done any too well anywhere by any commission. Forsooth, it was thus impelled to step beyond its borders, and to issue fundamental declarations in a field in which there are sharp differences of opinion even among people who are most competent to judge and who have devoted a lifetime to the study of the complicated factors involved.

Its declarations have, of course, no intrinsic value, and will hardly affect the course of events. They do not change the fact that government has been and is in a great deal of business, in much of it very successfully, and might well enter many other business spheres. We do not subscribe to the blank check of general government

ownership and operation; nor can we see any general validity in the opposite doctrine. The dictum by the Association can only serve, in a small way, to arouse further opposition to the commissions and possibly to impugn them with complicity in the power propaganda against public ownership and operation.

Let us suggest that the Association can serve the public interest much better if it follows the suggestions of some of its members and considers the needs of its own job. It has plenty to do to set up a decently-working machinery of regulation. If it looks after that task, it will not need to worry about public ownership and operation. If it fails, it cannot hold back that much-dreaded development by issuing sophomoric proclamations. We beg the Association to get busy with the job that waits on its doorsteps. We should add, however, that the Association merely received the report of the special committee, without a resolution of adoption.

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**Re-Argument in New York Subway Fare Case.**—The large number of people interested in the New York City subway five-cent fare case, were quite startled when the Supreme Court, on November 19, ordered that the case should be re-argued on January 14, 1929, and that new briefs should be filed. The Court added, rather sharply, that the briefs "shall be compact, logically arranged, with proper headings, concise, and free from burdensome, irrelevant, and immaterial matter."

This is a rebuke of unusual severity to counsel all around. It was apparently intended to apply to company's counsel as well as to the city of New York and the transit commission. There were, undoubtedly, too many briefs, and too little coördination; too many side issues, and too little clear statement of fact; too much harangue, and too little direct law. The new briefs may well stand as models of difficult legal exposition; the new argument will, doubtless, be lucid; and the answers to questions from the bench will be non-evasive.

There is, however, this to be said for counsel. Unless the case is decided according to the plain language in the contract between the city and the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, it leads inevitably into entanglements of fact and legal abstruseness which cannot be presented in such a "brief" as the Court desires. The company's attack upon the five-cent fare, fixed by contract, is based upon legal metaphysics which includes the consideration of state constitution, state statutes, their interrelation with a vast array of technical facts, the implied policy of the state, the intention of the Legislature, and the state of mind of the contracting parties, not to mention several lines of cases and their application. The case is either very simple—and should never have reached the Court—or it is enormously complicated with intangible and nebulous legal and constitutional conceptions. Since it originated and was presented in the latter form, obfuscation appears inevitable, and the attainment of clarity desired by the Court would indeed be a constructive achievement.

It may be of interest to add that the company, between January 1 and October 31, 1928, spent $789,912 in its efforts to break the five-cent provision of the contract. It is trying, moreover, to make this outlay a charge against the operation of that contract, and thus compel the city to pay virtually the entire cost of the litigation. The cost includes $160,000 for counsel fees, and $378,000 for experts. The rest consists of miscellaneous expenses, and particularly of the preparation for tokens, tickets, and special arrangements for putting into effect the seven-cent fare, if and when effective.

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**Service Charge Rejected in Boston.**—On November 16 the department of public utilities of the state of Massachusetts rejected the schedule of gas rates filed on June 20, 1928, by the Boston Consolidated Gas Company. This schedule was to become effective originally on August 1, 1928, but was suspended by the department pending an inquiry into its justification.

The schedule fixed a direct service charge of 50 cents per month, and then charged 15 cents per hundred cubic feet for the first 600 cubic feet of gas consumed each month, and thereafter 9 cents per hundred cubic feet in excess of 600. The board concluded that this arrangement virtually fixed a service charge of 86 cents per customer per month. About a year ago it had rejected a service charge of $1 per month, and then stated that a proper allocation would not exceed 50 cents per month. Since no new facts were brought out to change the view then expressed, the department ordered the new schedule to be permanently cancelled.

This is a significant decision in view of the extensive efforts on the part of gas companies throughout the country to put into effect rate schedules which, in one form or another, involve

a service charge of about a dollar per month per consumer. This campaign is apparently fostered by the American Gas Association. At the present time such service charge cases, affecting consumers in the city of New York, St. Louis, Buffalo, Cleveland, the entire district served by the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey, and many other communities, are pending in the courts.

We have called attention several times to the subject of service charges. There is no doubt that there is justification for a moderate service charge to cover such out-of-pocket consumer costs as meter reading, billing, bookkeeping, which are regularly incurred by a company, whether or not a customer takes any gas for a particular month. The task in all service charge cases is to determine the proper amount for such customer outlays. This involves the apportionment or allocation of costs, and requires the consideration of fundamental accounting and operating facts.

Unfortunately fundamental cost analyses have seldom been made in the interest of the smaller consumers. Because of the widespread effort to impose service charges, we have tried to bring together the available facts from the various commissioners relating to service charge policies. We expect to analyze the materials collected, and to show to what extent the service charge has been approved, and upon what basis. We hope to make the materials available in the near future.

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**Power Development After Election.**—Now that election is past, it is important for all those interested in proper development of the nation's power resources to consider the results, and to reshape their ideas sufficiently in line with the present political situation, but to keep to the fixed purpose of obtaining the development as rapidly as possible, with the maximum advantage for the public at large. Unfortunately, popular interest during the campaign was centered in other matters, and was directed only casually upon the problem of power development and control. This problem, however, cannot be disregarded for four years, and must be worked out substantially during the next administration. What are the controlling facts, and what alternatives are available to conserve the public interest?

Our impression is that during the campaign, and before, the discussion has rested too much upon doctrinal grounds. On the one hand, there has been a rather fixed assumption that the public interest cannot be served except through public development and operation. On the other side, there has been a rigid theory that public development, construction or operation must perforce be inefficient and damned as socialistic. Both views are preconceptions which do not square with the facts. While there is much to be said in favor of complete public development and operation, especially in the case of major projects, public advantage can be served effectively through private development and operation, if contracts or leases are properly drawn up to that end. Some projects might be developed under the one policy, and some under the other. There may be a combination of the two methods; various adaptations are possible. In no case does the general policy itself have much significance. The importance is in the detailed provisions of a plan.

Our purpose is not to present a comprehensive discussion of the problem, but merely to point out the more important factors that must be kept in mind in working out a practical program for any particular development. The first consideration is the difference in interest cost between private and public financing. The capital outlay will be large, especially for the more important projects, so that the interest cost will be the dominant element in the rates which must finally be paid by consumers. In the operation of a hydro-electric plant, the ordinary labor and material costs bulk relatively much less than in a corresponding steam plant. The fixed interest charges thus constitute a much higher percentage of the total costs included in rates. Whatever else, therefore, may be accepted in any practical plan, provision should be made, it seems, for public financing, because of the lower interest rate. Public financing in any project would probably not require more than four per cent or four and one half per cent upon the actual capital. Private financing would probably require between six per cent and seven per cent, and would thus impose upon consumers a permanent burden about fifty per cent greater than under public financing. There is no reason why this marked advantage should not be utilized, especially in view of the huge capital sums that will be necessary for extensive hydro-electric construction.

Apart from financing, the actual construction might very well be carried on by private enterprise, perhaps through competitive contracts. There is no fundamental reason why public

construction should be insisted upon as a matter of principle. The same applies to operation. If the advantage of low interest rates through public financing has once been obtained, then there is no controlling reason for insisting upon public operation, provided that the public will be assured the benefit of the low level of fixed charges. Apart from low interest rates, there is certainly no ground for assuming much greater public economy in the use of labor and materials than in private operation. Nor is there clear reason for assuming greater private economy, provided that public operation is not damned, to start with, by sheer political domination or by management interested in proving the inefficiency of public operation.

After any given plant has been constructed, adequate regard for the public interest requires much more than the mere establishment of either public or private operation. The important question is: what happens after the electricity leaves the plant? Are the low costs of operation subsequently conserved for the benefit of the consumers, so as to make available a wider general utilization, or will the advantages of low cost be dissipated and wasted so far as the general public is concerned? The answer does not depend upon private or public operation. It depends more specifically upon matters beyond the plant,—upon transmission and distributions systems, and, particularly, upon methods of rate-making. Even under full public ownership and operation of any plant, contracts will be necessary for transmission and distribution, and these contracts must contain such specific terms so that the benefits of low cost will actually reach the ordinary consumers. Here is the task for which clear understanding will be required under either or any system of plant operation.

The chief difficulty will be the rate-making policies of the different states. After the current leaves the plant, the actual rate-making—unless very specific provisions are made by contract—will be left to the local commissions to be determined in the state where the electricity is delivered. There may be the problem of interstate traffic; how to treat current generated in one state, transmitted by a private company to another state, and delivered to consumers by still another company? There will be especially the gross inadequacy of present standards of rate-making that prevail throughout the country. What profits the consumer in the low cost of public financing, or in any other established advantage of a hydro-electric development, if finally rates are based not upon actual costs but upon hypothetical considerations,—especially if they must bring a "fair return" on the "fair value" of the property used in service?

Here is the stumbling block which is likely to prevent for a considerable period the general realization of the benefit of low costs from any public water-power developments. If it is left, there is little public gain in any advantage derived from public development and operation. If it is cleared away, public profit may be readily obtained under private construction and operation. We wish to call attention to the importance of this *clearing-away* job,—that it will not be disregarded in the course of doctrinal disputes.

# GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION NOTES

EDITED BY RUSSELL FORBES

*Secretary*

**Recent Reports of Research Agencies.**—The following reports have been received at the central library of the Association since November 1, 1928:

Boston Finance Commission:
*Letter to the mayor regarding large amount of unused land owned by the city.*

Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, Inc.:
*A Capital Expenditure Program.*

Taxpayers' Research League of Delaware:
*Report on the Audit and Analysis of the Accounts of the Town of Milford for the Year 1927.*

Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.:
*The Cost of Government, Wayne County, Michigan, 1928–1929.*

Civic Department, Chamber of Commerce of Kansas City, Mo.:
*Fire Insurance Rates and Fire Losses.*

Bureau of Budget and Efficiency of the City of Los Angeles:
*Airports.*

Bureau of Municipal Research, St. Louis, Mo.:
*Progress Under the 1923 Bond Issue to November 1, 1928.*

Toledo Commission of Publicity and Efficiency:
*Toledo Port Survey of 1928.*

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**Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, Inc.**—During the past two months, the Bureau has been concentrating upon three research projects: the writing of the report on the division of water survey; a survey of the Buffalo City Hospital; and a capital expenditure program. Dr. Carl E. McCombs of the National Institute of Public Administration and Raymond P. Van Zandt of the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research made the City Hospital survey during November and the early part of December. This survey was made at the joint request of the finance committee of the council and the board of managers of the hospital.

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**California Taxpayers' Association.**—The proposed bill for the establishment of a county and city district plan of school administration in California, sponsored by the educational commission of California Taxpayers' Association, has been drafted and is ready for presentation to the session of the legislature which will convene in January.

Briefly stated, the proposed law provides that, in a given county, all school districts, having less than 1,500 pupils in average daily attendance, shall be organized into one district to be known as the county district. One board of education, composed of five members elected by the people, will administer this district. This board will select a superintendent of schools. Some one hundred of the larger districts are not affected, except that their limits are extended to the high school district. Districts having 1,500 or more in average daily attendance shall continue under their present organization or shall have merged with them the smaller districts of any given county.

The research department of the Association has been working in conjunction with the governor and his staff in consideration of the state budget for the next biennium. The Association has furnished the state with considerable fiscal information on its state institutions—educational, penal, and curative.

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**Citizens' Research Institute of Canada.**—Following the convention of the Canadian Tax Conference and the Canadian Civil Service Research Conference, held in Windsor, Ontario, during October, the *Proceedings* of the convention have been edited and published. Some of the subjects covered are: "Changes in Canadian Business Taxation 1927–28," "The Causes and Control of Municipal Tax Arrears," "Motor Vehicle Taxation," "Problem of Tax Control in Suburban Municipalities," "Provincial Control in Quebec of Municipal Administration," "Control of Taxation for the Support of Schools," "Fiscal Aspects of the St. Lawrence Deep Waterway Problem," and "What You Pay Your Federal Employees." Each of these subjects was dealt with by men thoroughly conversant with them and a great deal of useful and practical information was presented.

The cost of government in seventeen leading Canadian cities has been analyzed and the resultant material published in a November report.

The director, Horace L. Brittain, is at present engaged in a survey of the Galt, Ontario, General Hospital.

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**Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research.**—Analysis of the comparative assessed valuations for 1927 and 1928 of the entire state of Iowa, made by the Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research, shows that while total tax levies for all purposes have increased sixty-seven per cent, tax values have only increased four-tenths per cent in the last twelve years.

Significant shiftings in taxable values have taken place. Personalty has dropped thirty-four per cent and realty has increased six per cent. The personalty decrease partly resulted from a falling off in live stock values. While local subdivisions have lost in taxable horses and horse-drawn vehicles, the state has gained in this transportation item, as it alone derives taxes from motor vehicles which are not subject to local taxation. While taxable farm land values have fallen about three per cent, city and town realty values have been boosted thirty-nine per cent since 1917.

A report by the Bureau on soldiers' exemptions shows that, in the entire state, these have increased fifty-two per cent, or from $32,000,000 in 1917 to $49,000,000 at present. Soldiers' exemptions now amount to about one and four tenths per cent of the assessed value of the entire state, and are increasing rapidly.

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**National Institute of Public Administration.**—William Watson has been assigned by the National Institute of Public Administration to accompany Professor E. W. Kemmerer of Princeton on his mission to organize the finances of the Chinese Nationalist Government. Mr. Watson will be assistant expert in accounting and fiscal control.

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**The Ohio Institute.**—The Institute has just published a report dealing with county welfare administration in Ohio. The report describes the existing welfare organization and activities of counties and summarizes the present situation as to personnel and methods. Particular emphasis is given to non-institutional relief activities. In the course of the study, about one-quarter of the counties of the state were visited. The report recommends the ultimate creation of county welfare departments, and as an immediate measure the establishment of county welfare superintendents to handle those welfare services primarily involving family case work.

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**The Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.**—The Bureau is coöperating with other civic organizations in Philadelphia in the preparation of amendments to the city charter which would provide Philadelphia with a manager form of government and a council elected by proportional representation. The charter as amended will be introduced at the session of the state legislature, which convenes in January, and will have the support of numerous groups in the city.

The Bureau is also drafting amendments to the acts governing the assessment and registration of voters in Philadelphia and a voting machine enabling act for introduction at the coming legislative session.

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**San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research.**—Since the Bureau last reported in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW on its activities, the report made by the Bureau for the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce on the San Francisco-San Mateo Survey has been completed and published in a 196-page volume. The report represents fifteen-months' work, about five months being taken up with field work in San Mateo County. The report has received considerable newspaper publicity and much favorable comment on the completeness of the work. As the result of several public meetings, a citizens' committee of representatives of both counties has been named, with power to enlarge itself, for the purpose of studying the report and taking such action as is deemed appropriate. One of the first acts was to name a sub-committee to study the legal phases involved in the recommendations of the report that the state constitution be amended to facilitate the consolidation of the two counties.

The Bureau has completed its work of assisting the civil service commission in classifying the duties of city employees as the first step toward bringing about salary standardization. The task of providing for salary standardization in San Francisco is now in the semi-final stage. If the steps proposed to be taken meet the approval of the board of supervisors, it is possible that standardization will be made effective in the 1929–30 budget.

Practically two months' time of the Bureau's staff was taken up, prior to the November election, in analyzing and preparing recommendations for the public on sixty-one ballot propositions. The voters concurred in the Bureau's recommendations on twenty-three out of thirty-two charter amendments, two out of eight bond issue proposals, and ten out of fifteen state measures. In the drafting of charter amendments, the Bureau took part in the final revision of the public utilities commission amendment and was instrumental in obtaining changes which the Bureau believes materially strengthened its provisions. Amendments providing for a city planning commission and a purchasers' revolving fund were presented largely as the result of Bureau studies.

A city manager for San Francisco was proposed by the Bureau to the judiciary committee of the board of supervisors at hearings on a new city charter and at numerous public meetings where a new charter was discussed.

Work in progress by the Bureau includes a street reconstruction survey, improvement of procedure in preparing personal property assessment rolls, and a survey of garbage collection methods, a final report on which is being prepared.

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**Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc.**—Some time ago the Bureau received a letter from the League of Women Voters suggesting that a survey of the administration of charities in the city and county of Schenectady be made, especially with reference to child welfare. The staff is now engaged in surveying the situation with the object of preparing a preliminary report for the consideration of the board of directors. Future action will be determined from the deductions which may be drawn from this preliminary investigation.

A brief résumé of the activities of the Bureau staff since the establishment of offices last March is being prepared for distribution to the membership and also as a matter of general public information. It is hoped in this way to stimulate public interest in the Bureau and to solicit continuation of its support through increasing membership.

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**Municipal Research Commission, Syracuse University.**—*Ten-Year Financial Program.*—About a year ago the mayor of Syracuse especially requested the Committee to prepare a long-term financial program. Estimates for capital projects were secured from department heads. Current operation and maintenance needs were estimated for each year and revenues other than taxes were deducted to give the tax levy. The report submitted to the mayor outlines a method of financing the projects recommended by city officials and shows what the probable effect would be on the tax burden.

*1928 Syracuse Report.*—At present the staff is coöperating with city officials in the preparation of an annual report. This work is being done at the request of the mayor, who believes "the citizens as stockholders in the municipal corporation are entitled to a report of how their money was expended and what the city proposes to do in the future."

*Assessment Procedure.*—Sixteen standards considered as essential to an efficient municipal assessment system were applied to the Syracuse system. The state equalization rate for Syracuse has decreased from eighty per cent of full value in 1917 to sixty per cent in 1928, in spite of the steady growth of the city. There is also a pronounced lack of uniformity in assessment. In the report submitted to the mayor, it was recommended that the board of assessors be replaced with a single tax commissioner appointed by the mayor. Suggestions for changes in assessment procedure were also made.

*Selection of Patrolmen.*—At the request of the chief examiner of the civil service commission, a study was made of the method of selecting patrolmen. It was found that forty-nine per cent of the 663 candidates applying for examination since 1920 had failed to pass the medical examination, while only two per cent failed in the written tests. It was suggested that those passing the medical test be given an intelligence test and certain aptitude tests, and that a common school education be set up as a minimum requirement for entrance. The Committee also recommended that the civil service commission employ a trained man to do character investigation work which is now handled by the police department. The chief examiner has indicated that some of the Committee's recommendations will be adopted. The Committee will coöperate further with the chief examiner in determining the success in police work of those who were selected through certain examination and to calculate the correlations between such success and the scores for the individual tests and for the tests as a whole.

Studies to be undertaken early in 1929 include budget-making procedure and purchasing. These surveys and others will be made by graduate students in public administration in the School of Citizenship and Public Affairs.

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**Toledo Commission of Publicity and Efficiency.**—The secretary of the Commission of Publicity and Efficiency, J. O. Garber, has resigned, effective January 1, 1929, to accept a position as secretary of the newly-created department of civic affairs of the Toledo Chamber of Commerce.

The Commission during November published a résumé of Cincinnati's coöperative bonding program and recommended that Toledo adopt it to help reduce and stabilize the tax rate. The *City Journal* also published an analysis of the 1929 tax rate, showing that the city gets a decrease of $71,000, and the county an increase of $549,000, in the total levy for 1929. The Commission again published a detailed model budget for 1929, thus continuing its work of last year, when, for the first time, a real budget in conformity to charter requirements was obtained.

**Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research.**—A study has been made of the airport situation in the larger cities of America with a view to obtaining facts as to the advisability of establishing a municipal airport in Toronto. A summary of these facts was published in a report in October.

Information was collected from Great Britain, the United States, France, Belgium, Italy, and Germany regarding motor accidents and fatalities, number of motor vehicles, and various related subjects. Some of this material, along with similar information for Canada, was published in a report in November. A summary of suggestions which might result in a diminution of the large and increasing number of motor accident fatalities was listed, emphasis being placed upon the present level of the crossing menace in Canada.

A study is being made of the various questions coming before the municipal electors on January 1. One of these is a proposal to change the date of election to some time previous to the holiday season with a view to increasing the number of voters who will exercise their franchise. A report covering such subjects will be issued shortly.

# MUNICIPAL ACTIVITIES ABROAD

EDITED BY W. E. MOSHER

*Director, School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University*

**International Congress of Local Authorities.**—The fourth International Congress of Municipalities and Local Authorities is to be held at Seville and Barcelona on March 19–27, 1929, under the auspices of the Union of Spanish Municipalities and the International Union of Cities and Local Authorities. The latter Union represents thirty different countries, which are affiliated either directly or through their national unions and represent populations which aggregate approximately 190,000,000. The program covers reports on local finances, the organization of public undertakings of an industrial character, expropriation of public interests, and the activities of the International Union of Cities.

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**State-wide Organization of State Aid.**—In view of the rapid increase of accidents in this machine age, the Prussian Bureau of Public Welfare has outlined a plan for supplying aid to the victims of accidents on a state-wide basis. It is the ambitious purpose of the ministry to cover the whole of the state of Prussia, including the cities, with a well-coördinated network of places where those suffering from accidents may receive prompt and satisfactory treatment.

This plan calls for the coöperation, not alone of official hospitals and private clinics of every sort, but also public buildings and semi-private agencies both in the city and in the country, and even the private houses of those who may be stimulated to coöperate in the undertaking. So far as possible, all existing available means will be employed in rounding out the system. This includes training suitable persons to give first aid and to enlist quickly the coöperation of professionally trained physicians and surgeons should this be necessary.

Considerable attention has been given to the plan for public announcement of places where aid can be secured. A handbook listing such places, the use of lanterns and signs, and various other means of advertisement are projected. Even telephone operators are to be given necessary directions so that they may give the requisite information immediately.

In the matter of transport, it is proposed that, in the absence of regular ambulances, vehicles in the possession of local government authorities shall be so fitted out that they may be used in case of need as ambulances or for the purpose of drawing inexpensive trailers that could be used for this purpose.

The coöperation of policemen, firemen, railroad officials, nurses, and physicians is to be enlisted. The latter, for instance, are to be stimulated to give training courses and possibly examinations for those who wish to equip themselves for giving assistance in case of accidents.

Furthermore, it is expected that committees will be formed, not alone for the province, but also for the cities and other governmental units. Local governmental officials are expected to take the lead in the organization and guidance of such committees.—*Zeitschrift für Kommunalwirtschaft*, October 25, 1928.

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**Administrative Maps.**—An enterprising firm of geographers in England is bringing out a series of large-scale, administrative county maps prepared either in sheet form or folded in paper covers to fit the pocket. The price is as low as one shilling. These maps are published separately for each county and distinguish in various colors the different factors of local authority such as the county, borough, the non-county borough, and the urban and rural districts. The boundaries of parliamentary divisions and boroughs are also indicated by various colors. Roads, railways, canals, etc., are shown by means of standard topographic maps.

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**The Annals of Collective Economy.**—An international review, under the title of *Annals of Collective Economy*, is being published in English, French, German and Spanish, under the editorship of Professor Edgard Milhaud, of the faculty of the University of Geneva. The purpose of the *Annals* is to bring together in an authoritative way a report concerning the economic activities of various governmental bodies. The survey covers all the main countries with special attention devoted to those that are engaged in special pioneering work. The articles are con-

tributed by prominent experts, such as local government administrators, technicians and scientists.

The object of the *Annals* is to make available the experience that is gradually accumulating concerning the success or failure of public enterprise. In this way it is a kind of clearing house for the exchange of ideas and reports from all over the world.

Since it was realized at the outset that neither national nor municipal public services could be handled ordinarily by means of the traditional type of government, special attention is directed toward experiments with regard to administrative machinery for such enterprises.

The program of those responsible for editing the *Annals* goes far beyond the customary form of public enterprises. It embraces, as the title of the periodical indicates, all matters of collective economy. These include unemployment, social control of credit, a broad policy of public works, social insurance, public control over available resources for the elimination of waste and idleness, the coöperative movement and the like. The *Annals* is published at 8 Rue Saint-Victor, Geneva, Switzerland.—*The Local Government News*, November, 1928.

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**Diploma in Public Administration.**—The correspondence institute of the National Association of Local Government Officials announces the establishment of courses which look toward the diploma in public administration awarded to extension students of the University of London. An elaborate course is outlined that will take at least two years to cover. It is being set up with the aid of a panel of University men of high standing who will also act as tutors for the students enrolling. The fee is about $100. The course provides for ten papers with a bibliography for each subject, advice of a tutor on readings and questions of difficulty, and his criticisms on the four essays required for each subject. This outline may be looked upon as a symptom of the interest in education for the career of public administration.—*The Local Government Service*, November, 1928.

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**Public Washhouses.**—The annual report of the washhouse committee of the city of Manchester indicates the popularity of the public washhouses conducted in that city. The city at the present time has sixteen washhouses which were used by 536,000 persons in the past year. The receipts amounted to nearly $100,000.

It is possible for one person to do the weekly washing for a family of five persons in about three hours and at a cost of nine pence.

Under this same committee public bathing establishments are provided. They were used by over two million bathers in the course of the past year and the receipts aggregated over $90,000,000. The committee uses every means to encourage school children to use the baths and to learn swimming. To those who pass a proficiency swimming test, a certificate is awarded and free admission is granted for one year.—*The Municipal Journal*, November 2, 1928.

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**Garbage Handling.**—An English director of public cleansing has set up a list of essentials for an ideal vehicle for handling garbage. They are as follows: dustless loading, low loading line, speedy emptying, minimum horse power, short wheel base, and easy handling. He discusses at some length the program of standard appliances for the purpose of bringing about dustless loading. He considers that one of the chief obstacles to realizing this is the necessity for substituting standardized pans or bins that would fit into the receiving container on the wagon.

The ideal loading line for a motor vehicle is four feet six inches. The writer suggests that it takes twice as long to load a two-wheel, horse-drawn cart with a loading line of six feet, as to load a motor vehicle of the sort proposed. In this connection, the English writer lays emphasis upon the fact that the distribution of the refuse is much easier when the loaders are able to shoot the contents of the bin at the precise spot they desire. In this way the labor of packing is largely avoided.—*The Municipal Journal*, November 16, 1928.

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**Building for Sunshine.**—Recent city planning and hygiene expositions have stimulated Karl Geissler of Munich to attempt to solve the housing problem by laying out a plot of ground to be used, for a block of two or three-room apartments, in such a way that sunshine will penetrate into every room which is used for dwelling purposes. A guiding factor in his plan was necessarily the most economical use of the space. Specifically the task he set for himself was to design a four or five-story block on a piece of ground containing 12,512 quadrameters so that each and every room used for living

purposes would have the advantage of direct sunlight.

Three plans are discussed. In the first, the ground is laid out and the buildings are planned according to the established building code. Such construction is condemned because of the unsatisfactory condition as regards sunshine, small courts and the limited space between the various apartment buildings. Two schemes are then proposed in which the main purpose of the investigation is realized. In one scheme, fifty per cent of the building space is utilized; in the other somewhat more.

The basic principle of the plan is that the rooms which look toward the north shall be used for toilets, closets, etc., and that the building shall be on a north and south axis rather than an east and west; in other words, that the chief exposure shall be either toward the east or west. The buildings are separated by sufficient open space so that at 11 o'clock on March 1 the sun's rays will strike the windows of the lowest floor of each block of houses that face toward the east. The roofs have a pitch of thirty degrees.

The author of the article is aware of the fact that such utilization of ground area for the cheaper type dwellings runs counter to the standards that have been set by what he calls the "use-the-space-architects." He classifies his fellow craftsmen into two classes: first, those who are interested in getting the maximum amount of floor space with respect to the available land; and second, those who in their civic planning program are looking upon man as the measure of all things.

The article is profusely illustrated and contains a series of calculations with different variables that aim to show in detail the amount of available space included in the dwellings. In the opinion of the author, city planners must definitely have an eye to the importance of providing for all hygienic conditions favorable to human living, among which, of course, the value of sunshine is to be highly rated.—*Stadtebau*, No. 9, 1928.

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**German Monographs.**—Dr. Erwin Stein, the general secretary of the Union for Communal Economy and Politics (Kommunalwirtschaft und Kommunalpolitik), is not alone the editor of the magazine called the *Zeitschrift für Kommunalwirtschaft*, but also of a series of special monographs that deal with selected German cities, counties, and districts. These monographs are prepared, for the most part, by local officials in public positions who are well qualified to write of the subjects. The editor has shown praiseworthy skill in bringing together a series of articles on a variety of topics concerning the given locality, so that one gets the impression of a completely unified treatment.

Each monograph presents a comprehensive statement of the development of the communal life of the unit that is being considered, of the population both as to number and character of social and hygienic conditions, public welfare and health, finance and taxation and characteristic industrial features. In short, a picture is drawn of all of the activities that directly or indirectly affect the jurisdiction under consideration. Special attention is devoted to outstanding institutions and developments that are particularly important for an understanding of the city, county, or district.

These monographs are attractively bound. The bookwork and type is of high order. They are profusely illustrated and run usually between three and four hundred pages, although the one entitled "The Problems of the New City, Berlin" [1] contains nearly six hundred pages. At least eight of these monographs appeared in 1927.

As to content there seems to be no set scheme for each of the volumes. For instance, in the monograph dealing with Nuremberg the main divisions are but four: culture; natural beauty including the subdivisions, the city, surroundings, and suburbs; industry and trade; and public administration. In the case of Ludwigshafen, there are eleven subdivisions in addition to the introduction. They are as follows: history; local finance and zoning; housing; public industrial enterprises; social welfare and public health; public safety; justice; money credit; transportation and industry; education and culture; music; the theater and organized religion.

LUDWIGSHAFEN

To indicate the treatment of the various topics listed, a brief summary will be given of certain sections taken from the monograph on Ludwigshafen. This is a thriving city of 101,000 population, situated on the Rhine.

Some ten pages are devoted to a discussion of the financial condition and policy of the city. The first item has to do with the capital in-

[1] See review of this monograph on pp. 39–40 of this issue.

vestment of the municipal corporation. This covers such property as public works, buildings, streets, parks, cemeteries, etc. In this series one of the most striking features is the increase in the city property that may be used for building purposes. From 1915–1925 the value of such holdings increased by something over five million gold marks. Such property has been acquired according to the fixed policy of increasing the city's holdings both for parks and open spaces and to make possible the expansion of the municipal housing program.

The second main item of discussion in this chapter is a consideration of the indebtedness of Ludwigshafen, with a description of the purposes for which the recent debt has been incurred.

In 1920 the city adopted a budget policy. The total amounts of the budgets for the years 1924–26 are given, but details concerning expenditures of the various departments are not offered. Certain outstanding outlays, however, are summarized in more detail. For instance, the expenditures are listed for the department of public welfare, for various divisions of the department of public works, and for the municipal enterprises such as gas, electricity, water, etc. Finally the percentage of the total expenditures which is chargeable to salaries and wages is given for four different periods including 1926.

The last section of the chapter is devoted to a consideration of the amounts of money raised by taxation, and the various sources are given from which taxes are derived. These data are for 1926–27. The most lucrative source is from income and corporation taxes. This constitutes thirty-six per cent of the total income from taxes for 1927.

*Public Safety.*—Only four or five pages are given over to a discussion of the police department of Ludwigshafen. The material was prepared by the police counsel of the city. The article is entirely concerned with the general policy of the police department, with special emphasis upon the importance of the educational function of the police. According to the writer, the policemen in modern law-abiding cities are not called upon primarily to discover and apprehend law breakers. Their chief duties have to do with protecting and aiding the citizens and helping them to avoid situations that might lead to violations of the law. The ideal policeman becomes a friendly guide and adviser. The article on police is entirely lacking in statistical data as to the number of crimes, the size of the force, etc.

The discussion of the fire department is also limited to a description of fire-fighting apparatus and the size of the fire-fighting force. One of the interesting features of the article is the statement concerning a combination of fire fighting and ambulance and first aid service. It appears that the public ambulances are attached to the fire department.

*Health in the Schools.*—Considerable space is devoted to a treatment of public health and welfare administration in Ludwigshafen. A most comprehensive organization has been set up of which the program for the care of health in the public schools may be taken as an example. As a whole this is more far-reaching than would be found in a city of similar size and character in the United States.

Two school physicians have been appointed for the fifteen thousand school children of the city. They are accustomed to make annual investigations of pupils in the first, fourth, and eighth years. In case of illness or physical defect a special investigation takes place as often as necessary. All newcomers are given a thorough examination of both mental and physical health. An envelope containing the results of these investigations is prepared for each child and is passed on from teacher to teacher as the child continues on his way through the schools. Through a card system, a record is kept of all of the investigations and of special conferences, as well as any measures that may have been taken because of weakness, illness, or defect. Both teachers and parents are kept in touch with any serious developments.

Much weight is attached to the stamping out and control of infectious diseases. For this reason the physician is kept continually informed, both through the police department and the administrative agencies of the schools, with regard to the status of any infection that may have gotten under way.

Orthopedic exercises are prescribed for children under the supervision of properly prepared instructors. Both Roentgen ray and ultra-violet ray apparatuses have been installed, the latter having been found most useful in connection with undernourished children of which there have been all too many in the post-war years.

Recreation centers have been provided so that eighty-eight children may be cared for in stretches of four or five weeks. Teachers are provided for

the purpose of utilizing what would otherwise be lost time. The number of children in need of such recreational facilities is so great, however, that it is impossible fully to meet the demand. Steps are under way for the provision of an open air school in view of the considerable number of children suffering from lung infections. Similar welfare work is being carried on by the city for all classes of persons who are in need.

The reader may gain, from the above summary of several individual articles, an impression of the type of material that is brought together in these monographs. It will appear that no effort has been made to present an exhaustive statistical report concerning one department after another. The effort has rather been to summarize, in a simple and rather popular way, the activities that contribute in one direction or another to the administration and well-being of the city.

These monographs prove an invaluable source of information for those who wish to get a bird's-eye view of the municipal life in its various aspects in the leading German cities, as well as some of the counties, districts, and sections of the country. They will also be found useful by the students of public administration and economic life. As is well known, the Germans are unusually progressive in the expansion of the area of municipal activity and also in the adoption of scientific methods of carrying on municipal functions.

If the plan for preparing monographs goes on at the same rate as in 1927, it may be predicted that within a relatively few years the important parts of the whole German republic will be treated in this authoritative way. This will enable interested readers to gain rather intimate and concrete information concerning the way the German people up and down the country are conducting their municipal and public life.

# NOTES AND EVENTS

EDITED BY WELLES A. GRAY

*Assistant Director, Municipal Administration Service*

**Charter and Bond Issue Referenda in San Francisco.**—San Francisco electors faced the formidable task of voting on sixty-one referendum propositions at the November election, in addition to the usual number of presidential, congressional, and judicial candidates. Only ten of thirty-two city charter amendments, two of eight bond issues, and twelve of twenty-one state measures received a favorable majority in the city. Several good as well as bad measures were snowed under in the avalanche of "no" votes, which was the voters' method of cutting the Gordian knot presented to them.

Of the charter changes which carried, the most important was an amendment creating a city planning commission. In the past, the city has had a city planning commission functioning by ordinance with advisory powers only. Its usefulness has been practically nil, because of the board of supervisors' practice of hearing and deciding city planning matters independently of the commission. The amendment is a modification of the standard city planning act prepared by the U. S. Department of Commerce. In matters of zoning, the San Francisco amendment follows this model closely. It also provides for a master city plan to be prepared and maintained by the commission. The chief departure from the model is that the commission shares advisory powers in matters of city planning with other municipal commissions and boards, a conditions which probably cannot be improved until the adoption of a new city charter, which would do away with many of the city's independent administrative boards and commissions.

Another amendment will create a revolving fund for the purchaser of supplies to enable his office to take advantage of market discounts. Under present charter procedure it is practically impossible to have a demand paid by the city in less than twenty-eight days.

Only one charter amendment definitely increasing the cost of government met with approval. It provides for a minimum library tax of 3¾ cents, instead of a maximum of the same amount. As San Francisco's library department has suffered in comparison with other large cities because of restrictive appropriations, the act of removing the tax limit cannot be construed as extravagance. Other amendments adopted were routine charter changes and involved new policies.

Among the defeated amendments were proposals for the establishment of a public utilities commission; for the issuance of "revenue bonds" secured solely by revenues of a utility; resettlement franchises for the privately-owned street railways of the city; six amendments to the firemen's and policemen's pension provisions; increase in salaries for the supervisors, the city attorney, police judges, and police matrons; and an increase in the mayor's contingent fund from $3,600 to $15,000.

Probably the most serious set-back was the failure of the public utilities commission amendment. It was endorsed by all but one of the daily newspapers and by nearly every civic organization; but it was opposed by various labor groups. The amendment was considered to be an excellent draft, with proper provisions for a businesslike administration of the city's utilities, proper safeguards, and sufficient authority. The city voted last May to purchase its water-distributing system, and the date for taking over control had been delayed to give the citizens an opportunity to vote for a public utilities commission to operate it. The commission would also have operated the municipal railway utility which has been handicapped by decentralization and by political control of its affairs.

The amendment to grant resettlement franchises to the privately-owned street railways, placed on the ballot by the initiative, received the greatest amount of newspaper publicity and public discussion. The arguments for and against the proposition centered around municipal ownership and the five-cent fare, two issues which were really not involved. The measure was supported by the chamber of commerce and many of the leading civic organizations. It was opposed by four of the five daily papers, and by all city officials concerned with utility matters.

The measure was advanced to meet the situation which will develop in the fall of 1929 when the most important franchises of the street railway companies expire. The measure, while providing for the continuance of operation under a revocable permit and for the purchase of the lines of any private company as a whole by the city whenever it may so decide, was attacked on the grounds that it would wipe out existing city tactical advantages, would put the city at a disadvantage in future purchase proceedings, would add to the cost of acquisition, would jeopardize the five-cent fare, and would give valuable rights to the street railway companies without any remuneration to the city.

The proposed revenue bond measure was linked with the public utilities commission amendment. It attracted considerable opposition and failed to receive general support by newspapers and civic organizations.

Two bond issues, $3,500,000 for hospitals and health department services, and $2,200,000 for main sewers, received the necessary two-thirds majority. Both represent "catch up" programs necessitated by failure to provide for needed services in annual budget appropriations.

An analysis of the election shows that the electorate displayed unusual discrimination in passing measures of actual merit and in defeating practically all unwise and costly propositions. It is not possible, however, to explain why a number of propositions, every whit as important as those which did carry, failed to pass, except the obvious reason that 61 propositions were entirely too many for any voter to pass upon properly.

W. H. Nanry.

San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research.

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**Minnesota League Saves State $566,000 in Fire Insurance Rates.**—Through the efforts of the League of Minnesota Municipalities, a proposed increase in fire insurance rates in Minnesota, amounting in the aggregate to about $415,000, was ordered abandoned by the state insurance commissioner, G. W. Wells, Jr., and a reduction of approximately $151,000 was ordered in its stead. The increase was announced on June 18, 1928, to take effect the same day. A state-wide protest followed. For the most part these protests were led by well informed city officials, and the desirability of presenting a united front being evident, these officials turned to the League of Minnesota Municipalities as an agency through which they could carry on joint action. A meeting of the representatives of the various cities and interested civic organizations was held at the headquarters of the League on August 17, and it was agreed ultimately to present a single brief to the state fire insurance commissioner in the name of the interested cities and villages.

The decision of the commissioner was rendered on October 10. For rate purposes it divides the cities of the state into three groups according to their population. In the first and second groups the rates on dwellings with unapproved roofs are to be the same as before the increase; but those on dwellings with approved roofs are to be decreased two cents per hundred dollars. In addition, for the second group, which consists of cities and counties where there is a forest fire hazard, specific forest-exposure charges are to be eliminated. In the third group the rates on frame dwellings with unapproved roofs are reduced two cents per hundred dollars, and on dwellings with approved roofs, four cents per hundred. This reduction amounts to approximately $151,000. Thus by its prompt action, the Minnesota League saved fire insurance policy-holders of that state this reduction plus the proposed increase of $415,000—a total of $566,000.

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**City Manager Charters Retained in November Election.**—In the December Review we reported the results of campaigns for city manager government in six cities. In two manager cities—Kenosha, Wisconsin, and Norfolk, Virginia—a referendum was taken in November to determine whether or not the plan would be continued. In both cities the city manager plan was retained.

In Kenosha it was retained by a plurality of 1,276 votes, with more than 17,000 ballots cast. The movement which brought about this referendum was the result of a strike in the Allen-A knitting mills in that city. The city manager, in preserving order during the strike, incurred the displeasure of the strikers and their leaders, who led a movement to abolish the city manager plan.

In Norfolk it was not proposed to abolish the plan completely, but a charter amendment was proposed which would have struck at the heart of the plan as it was then effectively operating. The members of the council, under the charter, are nominated and elected on non-partisan

ballots. The amendment would have substituted for this method nomination by party primaries or party conventions. According to an editorial in the *Virginian-Pilot* of Norfolk, the object of this plan was to bring the council under the exclusive control of one party, and then to extend this partisan control over the city manager and all officials under his jurisdiction. Such a scheme would have made the plan operate in a fashion similar to the way it is now being carried on along strictly party lines in Kansas City, Missouri. The proposed amendment was snowed under, with 4,274 votes for, to 10,591 against it.

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**St. Paul Adopts New Civic Program.**—At the election on November 6, the voters of St. Paul, Minnesota, approved a bond issue of $7,577,000 by a vote of approximately 73,000 for to 23,000 against. These bonds are to finance a five-year public improvement program for the city. In the autumn of 1927, the voters of that city rejected a number of bond issues on the plea that while each of these issues was meritorious by itself, all together they constituted a hodge-podge of public improvements with no real improvement program.

Following the defeat of this bond issue, the various civic groups of that city organized a United Improvement Council composed of representatives of twenty-five organizations, including city commissioners and the mayor. This group made an extensive investigation of the needs of the city and submitted to the city council, in August, 1928, recommendations for a five-year public improvement program. This program included the bond issue just voted, and recommended that Ramsey County also issue $7,500,000 in bonds.

The improvement program for the city includes sewer extensions, improvement of library facilities, construction of new schools, the purchase of additional land, and construction of buildings for the St. Paul airport, a barge terminal on the Mississippi River, the enlargement of the municipal auditorium, the construction of a new court house and city hall, and $875,000 for parks, parkways, and playgrounds. It is recommended that an extensive highway program also be undertaken, largely, however, by the county. The city's share in this project is to be confined to the repaving of streets which form part of the state trunk highway system.

For the complete program to be carried into effect it will, therefore, be necessary for Ramsey County to issue its share of the bonds. This can only be undertaken upon the express authority of the state legislature, and it is the hope and expectation of the St. Paul voters that the legislature will authorize this bond issue at its 1929 session. The general understanding is that the success of the city bond issues at the polls is a mandate to the state legislature to authorize the issuance of the county bonds.

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**The Chicago Clean-up Continues.**—In the December issue we noted the progress which had been made by Frank Loesch and his assistants in their investigation of corrupt politics in Chicago. News of the conviction of fifteen henchmen of Morris Eller for conspiracy should prove heartening to every advocate of clean politics. At the head of the list of the convicted is State Senator James B. Leonardo, a leader of the Thompson-Eller "America First" crowd. Harry Hochstein, Eller's chief leader in his organization in the "bloody Twentieth," is also on the list. These two were fined $750 and $1,000 respectively, and others were fined amounts ranging up to $1,250. A sixteenth member of this faction, Joseph Annerino, a political worker, was also indicted, but was acquitted on trial. Annerino still has twelve other indictments outstanding against him. Three other members of the group, Sam Kaplan, Harry Hochstein, and John Armondo, are still under indictment for the murder of Granady, and the other defendants are under indictments for kidnapping, assault with intent to kill, and assault with deadly weapons.

It has been announced that Judge John A. Swanson, state's attorney-elect, will coöperate fully with the Loesch investigators and every possible means will be used to make this political house-cleaning a real one. The coöperation of Police Commissioner William T. Russell, his deputy, John Stege, and John E. Traeger, new sheriff of Cook County, has also been promised. The sixth special grand jury, called to assist the Loesch investigators, recommended, in a report issued on November 30, the creation of a metropolitan police department with jurisdiction throughout Cook County. It is proposed to place the police force in charge of a commissioner who is to be appointed for a definite tenure of office without regard to political changes in the city government. It is proposed to increase the number of patrolmen and to make their promotions and appointments free from political

influence. To further this result, it is also recommended that the civil service commission be increased from three to five members.

Chicagoans were promised by Mr. Loesch and Judge Swanson that the clean-up would be well under way by Christmas time, and that a better, cleaner city would be the Christmas present to Chicago at large. Close on the heels of this promise came the news of more bombings and the shooting of another beer-runner. The clean-up will continue.

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**Political Science Association Meets.**—The annual meeting of the American Political Science Association was held December 27, 28, and 29 at Chicago. The Association was in session, as usual, along with other organizations which are members of the social science group of learned societies. The morning sessions of all three days were devoted to meetings of seven round tables on the following subjects: problems of personnel administration, administrative law, the administration of foreign offices, comparative party politics, the teaching of government, political corruption, and municipal government.

Among the papers and addresses given at this meeting were the following: "The Constitutional Crisis in Jugoslavia," by Charles A. Beard; "What Price Prosperity?" by Carl Snyder of the New York Federal Reserve Bank; "Political Incidents of Standardization in Industry," by P. G. Agnew, secretary, American Standards Association; "The Guidance of Production in a Socialistic State," by Fred M. Taylor, University of Michigan; "Crime in the Modern City," by Frank J. Loesch, chairman of the Chicago Crime Commission; and "Political Science in a Technical Civilization," by Glenn Frank.

The afternoon of the 28th was devoted to a special session on local government, and a joint luncheon was held at noon on the 29th with the American Association of Law Schools.

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**New York Adopts Stagger Plan of Traffic Lights.**—The system of staggered or progressively operating traffic lights, widely used in cities in the West, is being given a thorough tryout in New York City under a new system of lights installed on Riverside Drive between 79th and 120th Streets. The lights will show alternately red and green and will function on a progressive schedule so that a series of waves of traffic will pass along the Drive. Vehicles moving at approximately twenty miles an hour can thus travel along this part of the Drive without being stopped by the lights. This system has been in use previously in Brooklyn, but this is its first tryout on Manhattan Island. The circuits controlling the lights are so designed that the lights may be operated either progressively, or synchronized as is now done with the lights on other streets on Manhattan.

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**John MacVicar Dead.**—Friends and political opponents united in paying tribute to the memory of John MacVicar, mayor of Des Moines, and secretary of the League of American Municipalities, 1900–1908, who died November 15, 1928.

Mayor MacVicar was well known among municipal administrators in the Middle West. He had served as councilman and mayor of Des Moines for a longer period than any other man in the city. He was also one of the foremost proponents of the Des Moines plan of commission government.

Mayor MacVicar was born in Guelph, Ontario, in 1859, and came to Des Moines in 1872. He began his political career as city recorder and, later, mayor of North Des Moines. After the amalgamation of that city with Des Moines, he served as mayor of the greater city for two terms. Following the inauguration of the Des Moines Plan in 1908, he was commissioner of streets for two years. Then, for several years, he toured the country in the interest of the commission plan of city government. In 1916 he was again elected mayor of Des Moines. When war broke out in 1917, although 59 years old at the time, he enrolled in an officers' training camp and was commissioned a captain in the U. S. Army. In 1922 he was again elected councilman, and served as superintendent of public safety. He was defeated in 1924, and again in 1926, for this office. He was elected mayor, however, in 1928, and served in this capacity until his death.

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